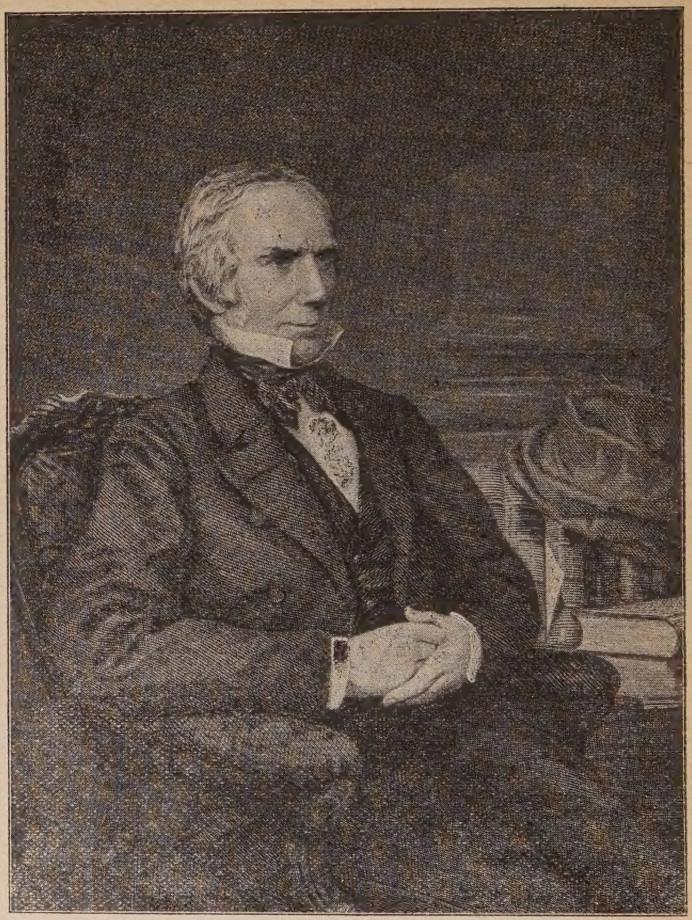

H. Clay

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HENRY CLAY

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Henry Clay

BY H.W. CALDWELL. A.M., Ph.B.

IF we would know a man we must study his hereditary characteristics and his environment. It is of special moment that the latter should be known during the early years when the mind and the disposition as well, are plastic and in a formative condition. Race qualities are more permanent and important than those variations in them which come from the family. To know that a man belongs to the English race, rather than to the Spanish, for example, is vastly more important than to know that he belongs to the Adams family, instead of to the Lee.

This fact aids us in our study of Clay. We know little of his remote, and scarcely more of his immediate ancestry. However, we do know that he belonged to the English race, and that his ancestry were English, even if the attempt to connect them with royal blood has little or no foundation. He and his family belong to the great "common people." He needs, no more than Lincoln does, the adventitious aid of "blood" to give him a great place in American history.

His father was Rev. John Clay, a Baptist clergyman; his mother a Miss Hudson, before marriage. Both were Virginians by birth, and both of English ancestry.

Clay's father died when Henry was only four years old, leaving him the seventh and youngest living child of a family of eight. Tradition rather than history tells us that Rev. John Clay was an earnest, able man with good power as a public speaker. He left a small poor farm to his widow and seven children. With the help of her children Mrs. Clay was able to make a living for herself and them. Yet the fact that we hear of Henry Clay, as a barefoot boy, plowing, and carrying the grain to the grist-mill on horse-back, proves that labor and poverty were both present, and at work fitting "The Mill-boy of the Slashes" for his future career. We know almost nothing of Henry Clay till he was fourteen years of age. But we may presume he spent his time much as other farmer boys did and do, going to school when he could, and aiding in the farm work more and more as the years passed. Perhaps there are a million American boys to-day whose lives are not essentially different from his, except as the inventions of the last century have produced changes.

While, as a boy, and later as a man, he was in the midst of slavery, he never outgrew the fact that to him labor was honorable, for it was an every day fact of his early life. Also, as we shall see, he never forgot his love of rural occupations.

Henry Clay was born April 12, 1777, near Richmond, Virginia. It should be noticed that Independence had been declared only a year before. His earliest impressions, therefore, as a little six year old boy when Peace came, were received in the midst of war. How tenacious

these first impressions are, we all know. Once at least he may have seen the British soldiers, as they, in 1781, made their raid through Virginia. His great rival, Webster, was five years his junior, but even he was born during the contest for Independence. Thus these two great nationalists came into being in a Revolutionary era, and

Birthplace of Henry Clay.

may have imbibed some of their love for the Union from the atmosphere into which they were born.

Clay's formal education was limited to perhaps three years, under Peter Deacon, an Englishman, who was the teacher of the district of the "Slashes" where the Clays lived. The main characteristic of Peter which has come down to us is connected with his excessive drinking. Tradition says he was a good teacher; Clay says however that he learned to read, to write, and to cipher as "far as Practice," in an indifferent manner. Like, perhaps,

most boys who have reached any eminence in later years, Henry was an inveterate reader as far back in his career as we can go. In his mature manhood this does not seem to have been a characteristic; then he gained his knowledge largely from contact with people, and by a sort of intuitive absorption.

Clay left his mother's farm at fourteen to enter a small retail store as clerk. Of his work there we know nothing; but we may presume that the experience gained prepared him to some extent for his next step, by bringing him more into contact with people, and by familiarizing him with the ways of the city. His mother had in 1792 married Captain Henry Watkins. Through his influence Henry obtained a place as a supernumerary assistant in the office of the clerk of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia.

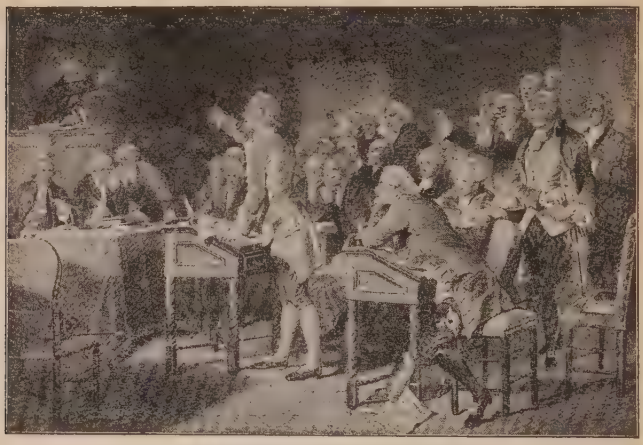
We have now reached the first turning point in the career of Henry Clay. In this office he had to copy legal documents, and to do such general writing as he might be called upon to do. System and order had to be cultivated. A good penmanship had to be formed. But even more important still, he was here brought into contact more or less intimately with many of the best men in the state. He would hear their conversation, and to one, with his eager acquisitive mind, this meant the storing therein of a vast mass of information. When he entered the office he appeared to his fellow clerks, green and awkward. One of them has left us an account of this first impression which will be found in the appendix to this volume. Soon however, the tide turned, and he

became the most popular one of their number.

Only a short time elapsed before he was noticed by Chancellor Wythe, one of the noblest and ablest of Virginia's lawyers, who made Henry his private amanuensis. How much of his time was given to this work, and what proportion of it to his duties, as clerk, we do not know. There is, however, at least one remnant of this work extant. Among the manuscripts in the collections of the Supreme Court at Washington, there is a legal work by Chancellor Wythe, copied by Clay while acting as amanuensis for the great Virginia lawyer. In it are Latin and Greeks quotations, and as Clay knew neither language we can understand the pains he took to imitate the forms which he copied. But the mere fact that he became at fifteen or sixteen the trusted friend of Chancellor Wythe was almost an education in itself. Mr. Wythe was able, honest and laborious; he was a friend of all the Virginia statesmen of the time. He was an opponent of slavery and one who like Washington acted in accordance with his profession. Washington freed his slaves by his will; but Wythe did not wait for death, but gave them freedom and aid while yet he could administer it.

Here no doubt young Clay saw, and perhaps met Washington, Jefferson and Marshall as the former was an intimate friend, and the two latter had been law students in Wythe's office. We know from his own recollections that he heard Patrick Henry and went away entranced. These two men had enough in common, in the fact that their feelings and emotions governed them to a

great extent, that it is not strange that the boy was carried away by the impetuous oratory of the man Patrick Henry. Thus, during these years, from the age of fifteen till he reached his twentieth year Clay was in a practical school of the very best kind. Few young men were so favorably situated as he, though it has been the



Patrick Henry Addressing the Virginia Assembly.

fashion of historians to speak as if he had never had any advantages. He lacked only in the systematic training which school and college may give. Here even we are uncertain how great the lack was, for we know that he read widely under the advice of Mr. Wythe, and from the list of books which have come down to us as among those read, we know that much sound literature was covered. That there was a lack in his mental processes in later years we know, for he was always more or less

superficial, ready to jump at conclusions, and moved by momentary impulses. But college men of the highest culture are not free from these faults, hence we cannot be sure that a college training would have cured these defects. He left this work in 1796, going into the law office of Ex-Governor Francis Brooke, who was at this time Attorney-General of the state. For something like a year he devoted his whole time, as far as we know, to the study of law. Again he was favorably situated, for Mr. Brooke was not only an able lawyer, but a helpful adviser. These two men remained life-long friends, and their private correspondence in later years gives us many an insight into the views of Clay to which we should not otherwise have access.

At last Clay was ready to begin his public life, and at twenty he was admitted to the bar. The standard perhaps was not high; yet we need not conceive it too low, for Clay had been in fact studying law, not one year, but five, for much of his work with Chancellor Wythe and in the Clerk's office was fitting him for his legal examinations. Clay had, while in Richmond, been one of the most active young men in founding and in sustaining a debating club. Tradition again says that Clay's speeches, even here, made him a marked man, and secured him friends on all sides.

This then in outline is about all that we know of Clay until we find him in Lexington, Kentucky, in the fall of 1797, ready to begin the practice of law. It is a meagre record, but it may be paralleled in its brevity by that of many of America's foremost men. In this country caste

and class have not been marked enough to hold men down. The nation has in part at least been able to profit by finding and using its talent and genius even when they have sprung, as in the cases of Lincoln, Garrison, Roger Sherman, Franklin, and scores of others, as well as Clay, from the humblest walks of life. We have seen Clay on the farm, barefooted; in the little store; in the clerk's office as a copyist; as the amanuensis of Chancellor Wythe; and finally as a student of law. About all we know in detail, has been given; but the spirit of it all should be noted. All the records and traditions point to the one conclusion, that at this period of his life at least, he was studious, moral and respected by all. Was he as engaging in manners, as captivating in conversation, as loved by his friends as in later years? Was he also as assertive, as fond of command and leadership? We cannot say. Even tradition gives us little to build on. However, in embryo, we can see even from our meagre record something of the Clay of later years.

November, 1797, found Clay settled at Lexington, Kentucky. From this time to his death in 1852, it remained his home, and its people his strongest friends and supporters. Lexington was, perhaps, the center of education and culture in the state. It prided itself on its able men, its schools, its colleges. It was in the midst of the famous "blue grass" region, and was not surpassed by any part of the state in the fertility of its soil. The bar of Lexington included such men as George Nicholas, John Breckinridge, James Brown, and William Murray, men of note and standing in the state, and some

of them in the nation, even. Clay pursued his law studies for a few months after reaching Kentucky; then he was admitted to practice in its courts in competition with such men as those mentioned above. That within two years he could establish himself and gain a paying practice, proves the capacity of the man. In 1799 at the age of twenty-two, he married Lucretia Hart, the daughter of one of the wealthy farmers or planters of that region. His wife was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, and was four years his junior. They had eleven children, five sons and six daughters. Of the latter only two lived to grow to womanhood. One of these, Anna, was his favored child, and was said to be much like her father. When he learned while he was at Washington of her sudden death, it is said that he fainted away, and was much prostrated for many days. It was only by the greatest exertion of will that he shook off the depression and resumed his place in the Senate. This was in 1835, during the time of his great struggle with Jackson, when he is said to have remarked, "My country and my state need my services, so why should I bow down to my private griefs?" Three of his sons were lawyers. One of them was also a graduate of West Point. The latter, Henry, Jr., was killed during the Mexican War. The last son died in Kentucky in 1879.

We need not dwell long on Clay's career as a lawyer. Within a few months after he began his practice it rivaled that of many of the older men at the bar. A very few years found him with a sufficient income to

justify him in purchasing Ashland, an estate of something over five hundred acres, situated just on the outskirts of Lexington. How much, if any part, of the means to make this purchase came from his wife, I have no evidence. There is little recorded in regard to the number of cases that came to him, or of their paying qualities. We find the statement made that in 1806, when he went to Washington, as senator, for the first time, his clients gave him $3,000 to look after certain cases then pending in the Supreme Court. His first cases were in the criminal court, and it is said that he never had a man convicted whom he defended. In one case only was he prosecutor during his early years, and in this case the man, a negro, was hung.

Clay's sympathetic and emotional nature, not only made him prefer the defence, but also gave him the qualities that fitted him for success on that side. His power over a jury was early manifested; and no doubt he sometimes freed men whose deeds would have justly merited death. One case shows us that the judges of the time were not always "up" on law. The prisoner had already had one trial, and although the evidence seemed overwhelming, yet Clay had so played on the feelings of the jury that it had divided and failed to bring in a verdict.

In the second trial, Clay made no defence, introduced no witnesses; however when he came to make his plea, he insisted that the prisoner could not be tried again, as it would put him twice in jeopardy of life or limb, which was against the constitution. His opponents objected to the argument. The judge at first ruled it out as an im-

Ashland as it Appeared in the Time of Clay.

proper plea. Clay then threw down his brief, gathered up his papers, left the room, remarking that he would not plead at all, if his client was to be deprived of his rights. In a short time as Clay had expected, a messenger came from the judge announcing that he might continue his plea, including this point in his argument. He returned and so worked on the jury that they brought in a verdict of "not guilty." Here we see a trait of Clay that under some form or other manifested itself in his entire career. His aggressive manner, his real or apparent belief in his positions, his rather domineering manner, yet with a rare eloquence, and a masterful personality, so worked on others that they submitted unquestioningly to his leadership, or became his bitter opponents.

Clay's success as a lawyer, however, was not confined entirely to criminal cases. He became noted for his skill in land law, and especially in the somewhat complicated cases that arose in connection with the conflicting titles due to early grants by Virginia. Some of the famous cases with which he was connected had to do with national politics. Twice he was the attorney for Aaron Burr when the latter was accused of treasonable conduct in connection with his western expedition. At the time of his second appearance, December 1806, he had just been chosen United States Senator, and seems to have felt some hesitancy in regard to undertaking the defence. It is also possible that his faith in Burr which at first seemed complete, was at this time a little shaken. At last before appearing in court he asked from Burr a statement of his

plans in writing. Burr gave him a written denial of any wrong intention, claiming, in fact, that the government was fully aware of his intentions, and approved them. At the very moment this was given a messenger was approaching with Jefferson's proclamation for his arrest. Clay never forgave this act, and meeting Burr, a few years later, in New York, he refused to take his hand, or to have any further intimate acquaintance with him. Clay was also a few months later one of Blennerhassetts' attorneys, in his preliminary trial in Kentucky for aiding Burr in his plot.

It is perhaps true that Clay never became one of the great lawyers of his time. This conclusion would almost necessarily follow from his personal qualities, as well as from his career. He studied cases and won each one upon its own merits. His life work was politics rather than law. Statecraft and statesmanship took his time, and strength. Little remained for law proper. Yet he had the ability to win cases, and could no doubt have made a great lawyer. He was quick, versatile, eloquent. Perhaps he was never over logical, and from this lack might have failed in the very highest practice. He was not the rival of Webster, Hopkinson, or many others whose names might be chosen in this field. Yet he succeeded in winning cases and made money when he did give his attention to his law. Once or twice in his career his finances became so involved, that he left politics to recuperate his financial standing, and pay off his debts.

We find Clay's name only rarely associated with the

great law cases in the Supreme Court. Some of his great rivals appear in a large share of the celebrated constitutional cases of the time. Webster's name is constant. Wirt's is common. Clay's appears only occasionaly. But does this mean that we should pronounce against him? Certainly not, for his field was no less important. He was a powerful, if not a dominant, force for forty years in determining what laws should be enacted. No talent however great can compass all fields. Clay had his place and his work. How well he filled the one and performed the other we shall try to find out as we progress in our study.

Although it was not until 1803 that Clay was elected to office, he had before that time taken his stand on political questions. As early as 1798 he had urged strongly that in revising the Kentucky constitution provision should be made for gradual emancipation. At that time he was still poor and as yet under the spirit of Chancellor Wythe. In his later years he referred to his course at this time with approval; but it is to be noticed that after he himself became a large slave owner, his service in the anti-slavery cause was in profession rather than in action. Yet it may be admitted that Clay was always ready for emancipation if he could only have seen a way to dispose of the negroes To free them without colonization ever seemed to him a dangerous undertaking.

His attitude on this question was not liked in Kentucky in 1798; but the radical stand he took the same year against the alien acts, and especially against the sedition act saved his popularity. Thus early we find

Clay joining himself to the Jeffersonian Republicans. He ever insisted that he remained a loyal follower of the Republican school, and claimed in later years that it was the Jackson Democrats who formed the new party, who abandoned their traditions, and not he.

In general in those early days society was rude both in manners and in dress. The hunter stage was only passing away, so it was the bold, fearless, confident man, who impressed himself on the average voter. That Lexington was of a higher social type we may grant; yet that the county of Fayette contained many men of that earlier stamp an anecdote of Clay's first campaign shows. At a large political meeting he was asked if he could shoot. On answering in the affirmative, he was given a gun, a mark was set up and he was requested to try his aim. He did so and by luck hit the very center. The cry was raised, a chance shot! Clay however was equal to the emergency and said he would shoot again when some one beat his first shot. The shot, his readiness and tact turned the tide and he was elected by a good majority.

Amos Kendall who lived in Kentucky some years later, and was for a time tutor of Clay's children, has left on record the following testimony of his impression of Kentucky at this date. "I have I think learned the way to be popular in Kentucky, but do not as yet put it in practice. Drink whiskey, and talk loud with the fullest confidence, and you will hardly fail of being called a clever fellow." Clay was of a higher stamp than this, but still he loved a fine horse and a good race; he learned to love cards and card-playing very greatly at this period

of his life. He was not adverse to a duel. He had the qualities which would make him popular with the Kentucky people of 1800; but he also had those that would make him loved by the men who lived there in 1850 as well.

Clay was re-elected to each succeeding legislature till 1809, when he finally entered the national legislature; in one house or the other of which he was found for the greater part of the rest of his life. In 1806 he served in the state legislature, and from Dec. 29, 1806, till March 4, 1807, in the United States senate. It is interesting to note that he was not yet thirty when his term expired, hence he served the entire time contrary to the terms of the Federal constitution.

There is not a great deal in his Kentucky legislative career that is of sufficient general importance for us to dwell upon. He took an active part in all its proceedings, and early became one of the recognized leaders of the Republican party. The newspapers of the day made such meagre reports of the legislative proceedings that it is difficult to find out what was done.*

*In preparing this article I had access,—due to the kindness of Harvard University—to incomplete files of *The Kentucky Gazette and General Advertiser, The Kentucky Gazette, The Independent Gazetteer and the Reporter* published at Lexington; and also to the *Palladium, The Guardian of Freedom, The Western World* and *The Argus of Western America* published at Frankfort. One might transcribe every word that appeared in them all from 1798 to 1811 concerning Henry Clay and yet not have very many pages of print. It is interesting to note that in none of the papers does he advertise as a lawyer. In none as far as I could find was a speech of his given. In only two connections is there an extended notice of any event in which he took part; one has to do with his duel with Humphrey Marshall, and the other with his debate with Felix Grundy concerning the repeal of the charter of the Insurance Company of Lexington.

From the accounts accessible Clay seems to have taken no prominent part in the legislature of 1803; but in 1804 he was pitted against Felix Grundy who was urging the repeal of the charter of the Kentucky Insurance Company. *The Guardian of Freedom* characterizes Grundy as a mere demagogue, without knowledge or learning and unscruplous, but keen and adroit. The writer speaks of Clay in these words: "The company in the interim received in his legislative capacity, a powerful support from Henry Clay, Esq., a youthful patriot, uniting in his character most accomplished elocution, with an understanding comprehensive and acute; and a heart as mild and honest as ever glowed in the human bosom."

The Palladium gives perhaps a fairer version of the debate. It says: "Mr. Grundy led the debate in favor of repeal; and Mr. Clay was at the head of the opposition. We are happy to inform our readers that the speeches of both have been taken down in shorthand and will probably be published as we are convinced that in whatever form they appear they cannot fail to instruct and delight. The house was much crowded during the argument; a number of ladies were present."* It may be noted that whatever the merits of the case may have been, that Grundy was successful in the legislature, and the law was repealed by a large vote, but as the Governor in-

*In a letter from Mrs. Susan M. Clay of Lexington, Kentucky, dated Sept. 27, 1898, I quote these words: "I have the Clay letters and papers, but I am quite sure that I have none of the speeches made in this debate, and doubt if any of them exist unless they have been preserved in the family of Mr. Grundy." I have been unable to get any trace of either speech, and presume that the editor never carried his plan into execution."

terposed his veto, victory practically rested with Clay.

Clay was active in 1805 in legislative measures as may be seen from the fact that *The Palladium* notes on Nov. 21 and again on the 22, the 23, and the 27, that Clay has been placed on committees to prepare and bring in bills.

The introduction of the following resolution, Nov. 5, 1805 would seem to indicate that Clay was aiming at securing more system in the management of the finances of the state: "Resolved, that a committee of finance be appointed to consist of seven members, to whom shall be referred all matters in relation to the revenue, and who may from time to time suggest any new subjects of taxation, or defects in the revenue laws for the consideration of the house, and that the said committee shall possess the power necessary to accomplish the foregoing objects." Clay was appointed chairman of the committee, but we have no record in regard to what was accomplished.

We have now reached the moment when Clay first enters national politics. We wish we had other records than this meagre one taken from *The Palladium* of Dec. 11, 1806, giving the proceedings of the legislature of Nov. 19. "The resignation" of General Adair as a senator in the Congress of the United States "was received; when Mr. Henry Clay was elected in his room, to serve till the 4th of March next." Was there a contest? Was no thought given to the fact that he was not yet thirty? Why was he chosen? Such questions as these come to us, but the answer can only be a speculative one. "The dead past has buried its dead."

At the same session a charge was made that Clay had

been bribed, but a committee appointed to investigate completely exonerated him. Clay's political courage was proved in more than one way in the Kentucky legislature. At one time a motion was made to prohibit the reading of any elementary law book of England, or the citation of any English precedent in any court in the state. One can hardly believe that prejudice could carry a legislature to such an extreme as this. It would have cut Kentucky off from its past, and deprived it of the use of the great principles of the common law. Yet it was found that about four fifths of the members were for it, and Clay had to use to the utmost his reason and eloquence to defeat the measure. For fear that even he could not prevent its passage he moved to amend it so as to make the prohibition extend only to decisions which had been made since 1776.

In the last legislature in which he sat a contested election case was referred to his committee. The report which he then prepared became a precedent and has been followed in similar cases in Kentucky ever since. There were three candidates for the legislature from a certain district. The one who had the greatest number of votes proved to be disqualified as he at that time held another office. It was claimed that the candidate having the next highest number of votes was then entitled to a seat. Clay denied this asserting that there was no election. His logic was so irresistable that his report was adopted and has never been contravened.

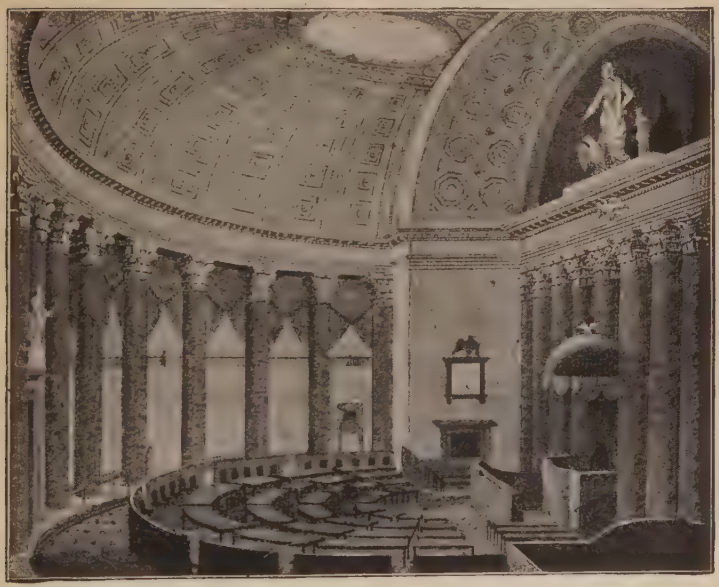
The last point in his career in the state legislature which we need mention is in connection with his duel

with Humphrey Marshall. It arose in a debate over a resolution which Clay had introduced that all members should clothe themselves in homespun garments. It was just after the attack on the *Chesapeake* when the patriotic spirit was high. Clay was moved by his desire to free America from all dependence on England and Europe, and in a small degree, perhaps, by his later protective ideas. Marshall as a Federalist taunted him. The debate ran high, and led to a challenge from Clay. Three rounds were fought, and both were slightly wounded. The correspondence and terms are peculiarly expressive of the age.

Before the close of this period of Clay's life, he had taken strong grounds in favor of internal improvements, and had begun in a tentative way to outline his so-called "American System." However it was not until after the experience of the War of 1812 that he became entirely clear and certain in regard to his own beliefs, and of the policy that ought to be pursued by the nation. The War of 1812 was vastly important in giving to the people of the United States a true view of themselves, as well as a place in the world's estimation. Clay was a leader among the men in favor of the war; yet it may be said that it caused him, also, to develop with great rapidity,and left him perhaps the truly national statesman that he remained to the day of his death.

Before entering the House in November, 1811, Clay had served two short terms to fill vacancies in the Senate. About four months in 1807, when he had proved his energy and fearlessness by making a motion the fourth

day after taking his seat, and by two or three short speeches in advocacy of the policy of internal improvements at a later date. At that time he desired to have certain lands set apart to pay for the construction of a



The Old House of Representatives in the time of Henry Clay.
Now Statuary Hall.

canal on the Kentucky side, around the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville.

From 1809 to 1811 he took a prominent part in Senatorial life, and made himself a national reputation as an orator and an energetic party leader. In the first of his Congressional speeches, which have been preserved for us, he argued in favor of giving encouragement to domes-

tic manufactures, not to the extent of making us a nation manufacturing for exportation, but to such an extent as to supply our own needs. "The nation," he says, "which imports its clothing from abroad is but little less dependent than if it imported its bread."

Clay's next speech was in advocacy of the claim that West Florida had been a part of the Louisiana purchase. He argued well in support of this position, and showed care in investigation and keen ability in stating his points. This speech proved his intense Americanism and his willingness to defy Spain and England too, if necessary. He was for taking immediate possession of that which he believed to be our own.

But his first really great speech was made in opposition to the recharter of the National Bank. Clay's later years are so closely interwoven with the Bank, as its greatest champion, that it is seldom noticed that he began his national career as its opponent, on grounds of both unconstitutionality and in expediency. He found no clause in the constitution from which there might be implied the right to charter such a bank. In many ways he was already breaking from the strict-construction views of the early Republicans, but in this case we find him arguing along the line of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. Mr. Richie of the *Virginia Examiner* claims that Clay never satisfactorily answered his own arguments as set forth at this time.

In 1816, Clay admitted that his views had undergone a change, but it is interesting to note that he rather shifted his grounds than attempted to answer his ar-

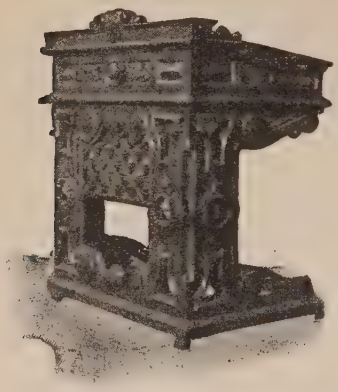
guments of 1811. He frankly confessed that he had modified his views, yet he attempted to make the change seem as little as possible. In 1816 he emphasized the fact that the Kentucky legislature in 1811 had instructed him to oppose the recharter, and stated that that was one of the principal reasons for his action. However it will be noticed that in his speech of 1811 he put very little stress on this factor. He also claimed the old bank had not been strictly true to its obligations, which was a cause for his opposition; again he had made little of this in earlier years. His biographers have, in general, asserted that this is the only change on any great measure that he made during his long political career. He himself asserts this on more than one occasion. It may be true that in belief he made no other such marked change; but in actions he was not always consistent as we shall see in our later discussions.

We are now ready to turn to Clay's career in the House of Representatives. He was a member continually from 1811 to 1825 with two short exceptions; one during the time he was in Europe as Peace Commissioner, 1814-1815; and the other 1821-22 when he resigned that he might recuperate his private finances which were in a deplorable condition.

Clay took his seat in the House Nov. 3, and was elected speaker the same day by the following vote; Clay 75, Bibb 38, and six scattering. He is the only man in American History who began his career in the House as its speaker. The choice proved to be an exceedingly wise one, as he was quick, alert, ready and firm, as well as in

general, just and fair. On his election he addressed the House in these words:—

"In coming to the station which you have done me the honor to assign me—an honor for which you will be pleased to accept my thanks—I obey rather your commands than my own inclinations. I am sensible of the imperfections which I bring along with me, and a consciousness of these would deter me from attempting a discharge of the duties of the chair, did I not rely confidently upon your support. Should the rare and delicate occasion present itself when your speaker should be called upon to check or control the wanderings or intemperances in debate, your justice will, I hope, ascribe to his interposition the motives only of public good and a regard to the dignity of the house. And in all instances be assured, gentlemen, that I shall with infinite pleasure, afford every facility in my power to the despatch of public business, in the most agreeable manner."



Desk used in the House of Representatives when Clay was Speaker.

Clay was speaker during practically all the time he was a member of the House. Usually he was chosen with little or no opposition. Yet it cannot be said it was because he was colorless. On the contrary he spoke

often, and on nearly all important questions that came before Congress. His speeches are also marked by incisive vigor and frequently with a cutting sarcasm that could not have been without its sting. Neither was he always by any means on the winning side. In his attacks upon Jackson's course in the Seminole War, as well as in his measures concerning the South American Republics he was in a minority. However when the time came for the election to the speakership, if Clay wished the place, there was no chance for any one against him. Certainly the half dozen times he was chosen speaker must lead us to believe there was honesty of purpose, and ability in action, or such a career could not have been possible. It is impossible in a brief account like this, to follow Clay into the details of his life during these years - in many respects his most interesting years. It may be said that the course of American History was changed to some degree by him. Perhaps, indeed, no other man unless it were Jackson had so much influence on its destiny as he. Clay was not as solid as Webster, as devoted to a cause as Calhoun, as determined as Jackson, yet he surpassed either of them in political leadership. He was never greatly out of sympathy with his times. He absorbed public feeling, and led rather than created it; but his influence itself was a factor in making it. In these earlier years of our history leadership meant more than it does to-day. But even then, it must ever be kept in mind, the history of the time cannot be told in the life of any one great man, nor even in the lives of all the noted states-

men; even then the people through public opinion were the ruling power in the long run.

As the great leader in the west, in 1812, Clay, joined by Calhoun, Lowndes, Porter and others decided that the time for war had come. England must cease to impress American seamen, to blockade American ports, and to intercept and practically destroy American commerce. France must learn to respect our rights. It mattered little with which one the war should take place. Circumstances, rather than choice, decided that England should be the enemy. Clay remarked once that it was only our inability which deterred us from declaring war against them both.

But Clay himself can best tell us his view at this time. His speeches made in connection with the war of 1812 are among the most eloquent he ever made. In urging an increase of the navy he said:

"The groundless imputation, that those who are friendly to a navy, were espousing a principal inimical to freedom, should not terrify him." "The principle of a navy. . . . . was no longer open to controversy. It was decided when Mr. Jefferson came into power. . . ." "It is the appropriate, the natural (if the term may be applied) connection of foreign commerce. The shepherd and his faithful dog, are not more necessary to guard the flocks, that browse and gambol on the neighboring mountains. . . We have only to make the proper use of the bounties spread before us, to render us prosperous and powerful. Such a navy as he had contended for, will form a new bond of connection between the states,

concentrating their hopes, their interests, their affections."

As the war progressed, the fact that the Federalists were antagonists became more apparent. New England especially was opposed to the war, and to Madison's administration. Clay, as the foremost orator of the war party, in a great speech Jan. 8, 1813, exposed completely the course of the opposition. A few passages will give us an insight into his oratory, and also show us how sarcastic he could be on occasion:

"Perhaps, in the course of the remarks, which I may feel called upon to make, gentlemen may apprehend, that they assume too harsh an aspect; but I have only now to say that I shall speak of parties, measures, and things, as they strike against my moral sense, protesting against the imputation of any intention, on my part, to wound the feelings of any *gentlemen*."

"The course of that opposition (the Federalists) . . . was singular and I believe, unexampled in the history of any country. The arrangement with Mr. Erskine is concluded. It is first applauded and then censured by the opposition. . . . Restriction after restriction has been tried; negotiation has been resorted to until further negotiation would have been disgraceful. Whilst these peaceful experiments are undergoing a trial, what is the conduct of the opposition? They are the champions of war—the proud—the spirited—the sole repository of the nation's honor—the men of exclusive vigor and energy. . . Is the administration for negotiation? The opposition is tired, sick, disgusted with negotiation. . . . When, however, foreign nations, perhaps emboldened by

the very opposition here made refused to listen to the amicable appeals, . . . when, in fact, war with one of them has become identified with our independence and our sovereignty, . . . behold the opposition veering round and becoming the friends of peace and commerce. They tell you of the calamities of war, its tragical events. . . . They tell you that honor is an illusion! Now, we see them exhibiting the terrific forms of the roaring king of the forests. Now, the meekness and humility of the lamb. They are for war and no restrictions, when the administration is for peace. They are for peace and restrictions, when the administration is for war. You find them, sir, tacking with every gale, displaying the colors of every party, and of all nations, steady only in one unalterable purpose—to steer, if possible, into the haven of power."

"The gentleman from Massachusetts, in imitation of some of his predecessors of 1799, has entertained us with a picture of cabinet plots, presidential plots, and all sorts of plots, which have been engendered by the diseased state of the gentleman's imagination. I wish, Sir, another plot, of a much more serious and alarming character—a plot that aims at the dismemberment of our union—had only the same imaginary existence." It was in this same speech that Clay made the plea for the American sailor that has been quoted so many times; yet, as it is not accessible to many an American youth, let it be repeated once more:

"If Great Britain desires a mark, by which she can know her own subjects, let her give them an ear mark.

The colors that float from the masthead should be the credentials of our seamen. There is no safety to us, and the gentlemen have shown it, but in the rule, that all who sail under the flag (not being enemies) are protected by the flag. It is impossible that this country should ever abandon the gallant tars, who have won for us such gallant trophies. Let me suppose that the genius of Columbus should visit one of them in the oppressor's prison, and attempt to reconcile him to his forlorn and wretched condition. She would say to him in the language of the gentlemen on the other side, 'Great Britain intends you no harm; she did not mean to impress you, but one of her own subjects; having taken you by mistake, I will remonstrate, and try to prevail upon her, by peaceable means, to release you; but I cannot, my son,

Oliver H. Ferry, the Naval Hero of the War of 1812.

fight for you.' If he did not consider this mere mockery, the poor tar would address her judgment, and say, 'you owe me, my country protection; I owe you, in return, obedience. I am no British subject, I am a native of old Massachusetts, where lived my aged father, my wife, my children. I have faithfully discharged my duty. Will you refuse to do yours?' Appealing to her passions, he would continue: 'I lost this eye in fighting under Truxton, with the Insurgente; I got this scar before Tripoli; I broke this leg on board the *Constitution*, when the *Guerriere* struck.' If she remained still unmoved, he would break out, in the accents of mingled distress and despair,

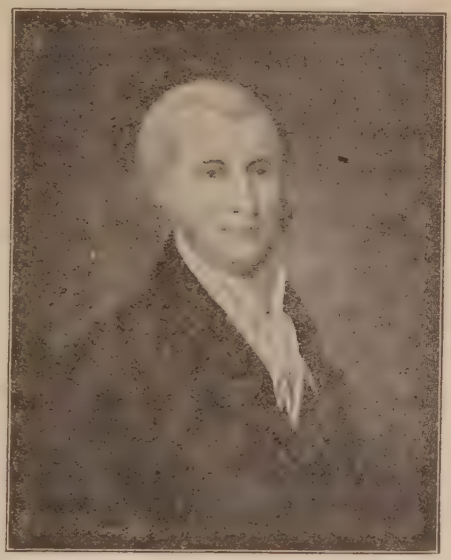
"'Hard, hard is my fate! Once I freedom enjoyed,
Was as happy as happy could be!
Oh! How hard is my fate, how galling these chains!'

"I will not imagine the dreadful catastrophe to which he would be driven, by the abandonment of him to his oppressor. It will not be, it cannot be that this country will refuse him protection."

As Clay was one of the most earnest, if not the most earnest, advocate of war in 1812, so during its entire course he remained its most zealous and aggressive supporter. He was for vigorous measures. He wished to press the attack on land and sea, and could he have had a united and enthusiastic people behind him, ready to act in accordance with his plans, the result might have been more glorious than it was.

Yet while he was anxious for war, and persisted in its prosecution, he was ready for peace at the first moment

he believed that it could be obtained on honorable terms. Clay was, through his whole life, an opponent of war for its own sake. He was fearful of standing armies. The military hero was dreaded by Clay, if he entered civil life merely on his military record.



James A Bayard.
Born July 28, 1767. Died Aug. 6, 1815.

Thus in 1814, when it was thought that honorable peace might be obtained, Clay was ready to go to Europe as an envoy. He was joined by J. Q. Adams, Gallatin, Russell and Bayard. He and Adams were the irascible, radical members, ready to strike fire, like flints at every moment. Adams seems to have felt that the navigation of the Mississippi river might be yielded to England, if only provision could be made to secure the New Foundland fisheries to the people of New England. Clay reversed the picture. Thus they quarreled, and within the commission the discord was scarcely less than between them and the English negotiators. However

they had one supreme good quality—they were outwardly united toward Great Britain. Gallatin was the peace-maker. Without him it is probable that no result could have been reached. Clay was daring in his demands, and showed little of the diplomatic spirit that had characterized diplomacy in the past. His western energy, straight-forwardness, and aggressiveness came into good play. His admirers claim that he alone of the commissioners fully realized how thoroughly ready England was for peace, and hence he alone understood how great the demands were which might be made without endangering peace. Of course his detractors hold that it was mere good luck that prevented his course from ruining the whole negotiations.

The English commissioners yielded point by point of their first demands. Gallatin's middle policy won with the Americans. Finally the men set their names to a treaty which contained no word, in regard to a single question, for which the war was begun. Yet it may be said the American commissioners made a good treaty of peace; one honorable to them and to their country.

Clay remained in Europe for a few months more, and helped to form a commercial treaty with England. He then returned to America, only to be sent as before by his people to Congress; and again immediately to be chosen speaker of the House.

Clay saw at that time what it took some Americans many years to appreciate; viz: that we had as the result of the war gained respect abroad, and at home a self-consciousness that meant much for the future. The

national feeling had developed with marvelous rapidity under the stress of war, the naval victories, and the wonderful achievement by Jackson, on January 8th, at New Orleans. Clay held that the war had in national development alone been worth far more than it cost. The effect in uniting the country, and in developing the national idea was similar to what we see going on around us now, as the result of the recent war for the liberation of Cuba.

Clay had been imbued with national tendencies before the war. After it these tendencies became the basis for rules of action under all circumstances. All legislation should have as its goal the realization of national life.

Under this incentive he became the champion of the National bank. As we have seen, in 1811, he was its deadly enemy—now he becomes its firm friend.

As early as 1807 he urged that the United States government should aid in internal improvements. In the years following 1815, he is a constant and zealous advocate of the most wide-reaching system of improvements under national auspices.

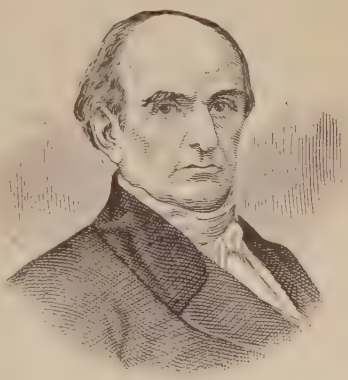
He had in his earlier years joined with Washington, Jefferson, and Madison in favoring the use of home made articles; in the years from 1815 till 1844 he is a firm believer in the efficacy of his so-called "American system"as the panacea for all the ills to which the national life was heir, even if it be true that in 1833 he was the author, and the leading advocate of the famous compromise tariff. Clay yielded then to save the Union.

These financial measures are the best known, and are perhaps the ones on which his fame and name rest. But to my mind he rose to his greatest height in oratory and in unselfish devotion to the cause of liberty, in his advocacy of the cause of the South American people in their struggle for freedom from Spanish oppression. To be sure there was much in his argument that was not wholly logical. He was led to say, in the moment of highest exaltation, when carried away by the fervor of his oratory, that ignorance on the part of the people was no bar to self-government. But in this earnest advocacy of the rights of a people, in his intense devotion to the cause of democracy, he earned the praise of all who long to see the time come when the brotherhood of man will be recognized as a fact as well as a theory.

He may not fully have recognized the truth that democracy as a fact is only practicable when there is a relatively high state of development. But he was standing for the right of a people to a democratic form of government and of society, at the very earliest practicable moment. He said with much truth that "it is the doctrine of thrones, that man is too ignorant to govern himself." He might well have added that aristocrats and plutocrats hold to the same doctrine. The time is not even yet passed when we have ceased to need the entrancing voice of a Clay, leading us to recognize our duty towards man as he struggles upward toward the goal of self-government.

In these same years we hear his glowing words as in

1824 he speaks on this resolution introduced by Webster: "Resolved, that provision ought to be made by laws, for defraying the expenses incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the president shall deem it expedient to make such appointment." On this resolution he said: "Go home, if you can; go home if you dare to your constituents, and tell them you voted it down; meet, if you can, the appealing countenances of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrank from the declaration of your own sentiments; that you cannot tell how, but that some unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinable danger, drove you from your purpose; that the spectre of scimiters, and crowns, and crescents gleamed before you and alarmed you; and that you suppressed all the noble feelings prompted by religion, by liberty, by national independence, and by humanity: I cannot bring myself to believe that such will be the feeling of a majority of the committee."



Daniel Webster.

Clay began as early as 1817 to advocate the cause of the South American revolutionists. By 1818 he believed they were entitled to recognition as independent repub-

lics. He persisted in his efforts, and in the course of a few years, he found that Congress had veered round and was as enthusiastically with him, as it had been antagonistic to his ideas a few years earlier. His speeches of these years contain many brilliant passages. The following will illustrate their general tenor:

"But, sir, it seems that a division of the Republican party is about to be made by the proposition. . . . . What has been the great principle of the party to which the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Wilson] refers, from the first existence of the government to the present day? An attachment to liberty, a devotion to the great cause of humanity, of freedom, of self-government, and of equal rights. . . . . What is the great principle that has distinguished parties in all ages, and under all governments—democrats and federalists, whig and tories, plebeians and patricians? The one distrustful of human nature, appreciates less the influence of reason and of good dispositions and appeals more to physical force; the other party, confiding in human nature, relies much on moral power, and applies to force as an auxiliary only to the operations of reason."

"Nay, I have seen a project in the newspapers, and I should not be surprised, after what we have already seen, at its being carried into effect, for sending a minister to the Porte. Yes, sir, from Constantinople, or from the Brazils; from Turk or Christian; from black or white; from the Bey of Algiers or the Bey of Tunis; from the devil himself, if he wore a crown we should receive an ambassador. . . . . But, let the minister come from a

poor republic, like that of La Plata, and we turn our back on him." . . . . .

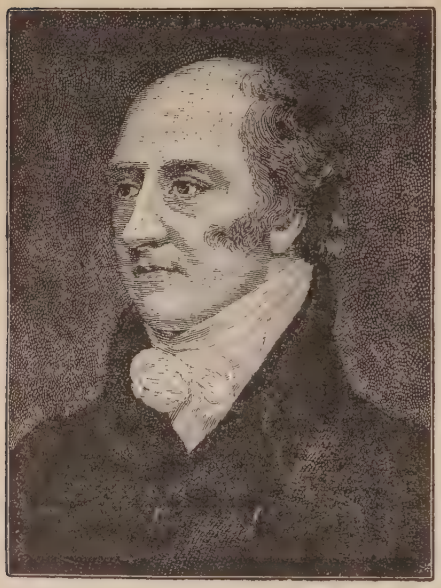
"An honorable gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Sheffey] had said the people of South America were incapable from the ignorance and superstition which prevail among them, of achieving independence or enjoying liberty. And to what cause is that ignorance and superstition owing? Was it not to the vices of their government? to the tyranny and oppression, hierarchical and political, under which they groaned? If Spain succeeded in riveting their chains upon them would not that ignorance and superstition be perpetuated? . . . . For his part he wished their independence. It was the final step toward improving their condition." . . . . . .

"Wherever in America her [Spain's] sway extends, everything seems to pine and wither beneath its baneful influence. . . . . Our revolution was mainly directed against the mere theory of tyranny. We had suffered comparatively but little; we had, in some respects, been kindly treated; but our intrepid and intelligent fathers saw, in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that were to follow. They rose; they breasted the storm; they achieved our freedom. Spanish America for centuries has been doomed to the practical effects of an odious tyranny. If we were justified, they were more than justified."

In all these speeches we get only illustrations of the one sentiment which he vividly expressed in a speech of 1810: "I have no commiseration for princes. My

sympathies are reserved for the great mass of mankind."

Richard Rush in a letter to Clay of June 23, 1827, states very clearly that he believes Clay deserved the credit for the existence of the South American Republics. He says:



George Canning.
Born 1770. Died 1827.

"I have just read Lord Grey's speech, and cannot resist the desire I feel to send it to you. You will recognize in it sentiments I have expressed as regards Mr. Canning and the new South American States. If Earl Grey had been better informed, he would have said that it was *you* who did most to call them into being. I say this in no idle spirit of praise, having always, abroad and at home, expressed the opinion, that, next to their own exertions, the South-Americans owe to you more than to any other man in either hemisphere, their independence, you having led the way to our acknowledgment of it. Without our acknowledgment, England would not have taken the step to this day. This is my belief. I give

Mr. Canning no credit for the part he acted. It was forced upon him by our lead, which he never had the magnanimity to avow, but strove to claim all the merit for England, or rather for himself."

Monroe offered Clay a position in his cabinet; he refused to accept partly perhaps because he was piqued that Adams, not he, had been made Secretary of State; and partly because he felt that his place was in the legislature rather than in the cabinet. Whatever the reason Clay was exceedingly critical during the eight years of Monroe's administration. Scarcely had Monroe's second term begun when the intrigues for the succession in 1825 invaded both Congress and the cabinet.

Adams, Calhoun and Crawford in the cabinet were jealous of each other, and were looking with longing eyes to the election of 1824. Clay in Congress, could not entirely free himself from a desire so to guide its action as to make him strong at the expense of those more closely associated with the administration. Of course by 1822 Jackson had begun to rise up to threaten each and all of the men who had a civil life only to pit against him as a military hero.

Clay's attitude toward Jackson cannot be said to have been wholly determined by his fear of him as a rival for the presidency. In the matter of the Seminole War, and the invasion of Florida by Jackson, at that time, Clay had been very radical in his utterances. Unless we decide that Clay was carried away by his oratory, we must conclude that he greatly feared that the country was in danger sooner or later of being destroyed by some

military chieftain. Clay had expressed himself in two great speeches on the subject of Jackson's course in connection with the Seminole War. After one has read the following extracts, it would seem that it ought to be clear why in the election of 1825, it was almost impossible for Clay and Jackson to work in harmony.

"General Jackson says that when he received that letter he no longer hesitated. No, sir, he did no longer hesitate. He received it on the 23rd, he was in Pensacola on the 24th, and immediately after set himself before the fortress of San Carlos . . . which he shortly reduced. . . . Wonderful energy! Ample promptitude! alas, that it had not been an energy and a promptitude within the pale of the constitution, and according to the orders of the chief magistrate." . . . . . .

"I will not trespass much longer upon the time of the committee: but I trust I shall be indulged with some few reflections upon the danger of permitting the conduct on which it has been my painful duty to animadvert, to pass without a solemn expression of the disapprobation of this house. Recall to your recollection the free nations which have gone before us. Where are they now?

'Gone glimmering through the dream of things that were,
A school boy's tale, the wonder of the hour.'

"And how have they lost their liberties? If we could . . . . ask a Grecian, if he did not fear some daring military chieftain, covered with glory, some Philip or Alexander, would one day overthrow the liberties of his country, the confident and indignant Grecian would exclaim,

No! no! we have nothing to fear from our heroes; our liberties are eternal." . . . .

"I hope not to be misunderstood. I am far from intimating that Gen. Jackson cherishes any designs inimical to the liberties of his country. I believe his intentions to be pure and patriotic. . . . . But precedents if bad are fraught with the most dangerous consequences. . . . . Against the alarming doctrine of unlimited discretion in our military chieftains when applied even to prisoners of war, I must enter my protest. . . . . We are fighting a great moral battle, for the benefit, not only of our own country, but of all mankind." . . . . "To you, Mr. Chairman, belongs the high privilege of transmitting unimpaired, to posterity, the fair character and liberty of our country." . . . . "Beware how you give a fatal sanction, in this infant period of our republic, scarcely yet two score years old to military insubordination. Remember that Greece had her Alexander, Rome her Cæsar, England her Cromwell, France her Bonaparte, and that if we escape the rock on which they split, we must avoid their errors." . . . . . .

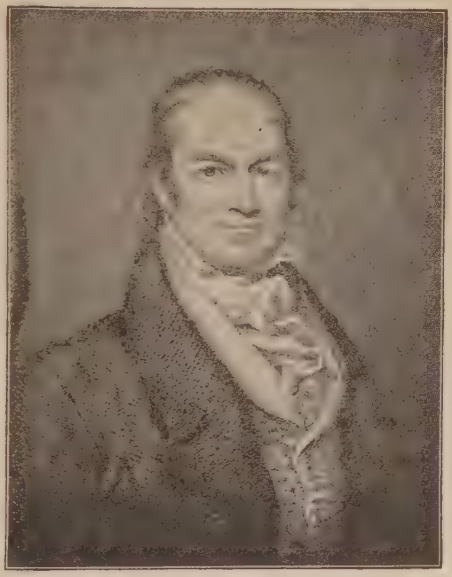
"I hope gentlemen will deliberately survey the awful isthmus on which we stand. They may bear down all opposition; they may even vote the General the public thanks; they may carry him triumphantly through this house. But, if they do, in my humble judgment, it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination, a triumph of the military over the civil power, a triumph over the powers of this house, a triumph over the constitution of the land. And I pray most devoutly to

Heaven, that it may not prove, in its ultimate effects and consequences, a triumph over the liberties of the people."

The campaign of 1824 had begun as early as 1822. The Federalists had by this time disappeared as a national party, and did not offer to put forward a presidential candidate. The struggle was entirely within the Republican party, and was in the main, a personal contest. In 1822 Clay's correspondence shows that he was planning to have the legislature of Ohio nominate him for the presidency. He preferred to come before the people in this manner rather than to be presented by his own state. For some time he seemed to fear Crawford most, but after the latter was stricken with apoplexy, he felt that his real and dangerous rival was Adams. It was not till late in the campaign that he came to realize that the man whom he had attempted to have censured a few years earlier in Congress, for his course in the Seminole War, had been taken up by the people, and was being pressed in earnest for the presidency. In one of Clay's letters to a friend in Ohio he stated that the nomination of Jackson by the legislature of Tennessee was only to satisfy local pride, and that Jackson could find no support outside of his own state. But by the beginning of 1824 he had to admit that Pennsylvania was entirely "mad" with Jacksonism. However even to the last moment almost he refused to believe that the American people would choose for the highest civil office in their gift, the man who was only a successful general; for Clay claimed that Jackson had done practically nothing in

political life, was not a student of public affairs; and also that he was hot-headed, and as Clay believed despotic and entirely unsafe.

However successful Clay may have been in judging public opinion, in general, he certainly was utterly mistaken in regard to its attitude toward Jackson. Clay was never quite so optimistic after his contact with Jackson in the years 1825 to 1833, as he had been before. In his private letters he said he would not wholly despair of the future of the Republic. He could not but feel that there was sufficient honesty and public worth in the American people to lead them to turn from the path upon which they had entered. Yet he never either in public or in private was able to understand Jackson nor to guage correctly the motives that were prompting the people to support him. That Clay was honest is doubtless true. That Jackson was equally so



William H. Crawford.
Born Feb. 24, 1772. Died Sept. 15, 1834.

would now be denied by few. Yet these men went to their graves each believing that the other was dishonest, and that his triumph endangered the perpetuity of the Republic for which either would have willingly laid down his life had he felt it necessary for its preservation. In general Clay was not a man with fierce hatreds as was Jackson; yet, in this particular case, it seems that the intensity of his mistrust and dislike was not exceeded by Jackson himself.

When the campaign ended it was found that the electors had made no one president. Jackson led with 99 votes, while Adams came next with 84. Crawford had 41 to Clay's 37, so Clay was not one of the three highest, hence could not be voted for by the House. When it became its duty to choose a president, Clay as speaker of the House, as the most influential and powerful man in it, had it in his power to determine which one of these three men should be made president. During the campaign it was clear that his friends at least, if not he himself, leaned toward Crawford. At the last moment almost, in the campaign, Gallatin had withdrawn as the candidate for vice-president on the Crawford ticket. His friends were in general for Clay for the place. There are indications in Clay's letters, that had this plan been broached soon enough, it might have been considered. At least Clay was very careful in his replies not to antagonize the friends of Crawford who were fashioning this plan.

When the election was over, however, and the vote of Clay had to be cast for some one, his choice was soon

made. He felt, at least as soon as he had seen Crawford, that his sickness had disqualified him for the place. In his letters he frequently makes the statement that Adams would not be his choice at all were he free to choose from whom he would; yet since it was either Jackson or Adams he preferred the latter. Perhaps as a courageous statesman he had to take a side, and to use his influence and his friends to win. However as it proved, it cost him dear. Before this time Clay's reputation had been as spotless as his public character. From this time on he had to face the cry of "bargain and corruption." Jackson and thousands of the American people believed that Clay had voted for Adams, in return for the promise that Adams would make Clay Secretary of State. The proof is overwhelming that no such agreement was entered into, but the charge was made; some attempted proofs were set forth; and he could not put it down. He accepted the office, and people would believe that it had been bought. The charge has been made by Mr. Colton, Clay's biographer, that the corruption was on the other side, and that there was a conspiracy to force Clay to vote for Jackson, or to ruin Clay.

But the truth is Colton succeeded no better in his charge, than did the friends of Jackson in theirs, and to my mind a careful, if not an exhaustive, study of all that has been said on both sides, leaves the impression that the times and the character of the men concerned offer the true explanation. As a matter of fact both were high-minded, patriotic statesmen. Both were intense. Both were ambitious. The thought of wrong

got a lodgement in two such minds. It was ineradicable. The people were not yet self-centered. They believed, as we do yet too often, that improper motives always guided men in official positions. In a word it was a vast mistake and misconception. Neither was capable of understanding the other. Each was strong on one side of his character and weak on another. But both were above selling themselves, or their country, or its interests, to gratify personal ambition. Yet it must be said that Clay erred. He saw it when too late, and in 1842, in a speech to his neighbors he admitted it. His true place was in Congress. He had no right to lay himself open to the suspicion that his vote had been used to further his own longings. He might have been president had he not become Adams's Secretary of State. For this latter place Clay was well fitted, but he lost a greater stake, and brought much sorrow on himself by not having avoided even the appearance of evil, as well as the evil itself.

The four years that Clay was Secretary of State were on the whole years of disappointment to him. To be sure he could point to the fact that he had concluded more treaties with foreign nations than all his predecessors together, yet this fact satisfied him little when he failed in his greatest plans, and had also to fight the cry of "corruption" during the entire time.

Immediately upon the inauguration of Adams, new party ties began to be formed, and it was soon seen that the "Era of Good Feeling" was at an end. Adams and Clay were able to carry most of their respective friends

into the support of the new administration; thus the "ins" were content. However the "outs" also tended to join in criticism of the measures of the new government. Gradually as the measures of Adams and Clay unfolded themselves, those who had supported Jackson and Crawford as well as most of Calhoun's friends began to fuse into one party. Their battle-cry was "avenge the people," who had been cheated out of their will by the corrupt union of Adams and Clay. Nearly or quite one-third of Clay's private letters during these years contain some reference to this charge. He made one or two masterly speeches on the question. He wrote some of his strongest papers for the press on the subject. Seemingly he had completely refuted the charge. His friends like Webster and Lafayette, congratulated him on the overwhelming success of his defence. Yet it all seemed to be of no avail. Jackson finally lent his name formally to the charge, and cited Buchanan as his witness. The latter did not sustain the charge. Again it would seem that the victory was won. But no! Clay never escaped the effect of his indiscretion,or his mistake whichever we may call it. The lesson is evident, a man must not only be pure in fact, but he must also avoid the very appearance of corruption.

For years as we have seen Clay had been the friend of the South American Republics. Now as Secretary of State seemingly the time had come when he could aid them as he had wished to do in the past. Yet fate stood in his way. In the senate, if the majority were not actively hostile, they were ready at least to thwart his

plans by indirection. This was soon made manifest in connection with the proposed Panama Congress. A meeting of delegates from the various American states was to be held on the isthmus to take into consideration the interests of this continent. Here was the chance to form the "Human Freedom League" that Clay had desired in order that it might be ready to thwart the plans of the "Holy Alliance" of the European nations. Clay found however that even Adams was cooler blooded than he, and felt the necessity of caution. In two elaborate messages Adams made it clear to Congress that he did not intend to send commissioners to the Panama Congress unless the money was first appropriated. Yet even then the Senate delayed confirmation. Adams also stated in his messages that the delegates would only have power to consult. They would have the right to conclude nothing.

However Congress quibbled lest we should in some way become involved in foreign complications. Again Adams narrowed the Monroe doctrine so that it meant only that each American State should resist the attempt to plant colonies within its borders by its own means and strength. In every way it would seem that he had guarded against the interests of the Union becoming involved with those of the Spanish American states. At last the Administration saw victory, in the confirmation of its envoys. However the delay proved fatal as the Congress had already adjourned when they reached Panama.

Perhaps it was as well that failure came in the way it

did since the time was not ripe for the consummation of Clay's plans. But the disappointment to Clay must have been keen, and all the greater, since he realized that the opposition was less because of the measure, than because the measure was his, or his and Adams's.

The campaign of 1828 began almost before that of 1824 was ended. The legislature of Tennessee renominated Jackson, and he resigned his seat in the Senate that he might be free to be a candidate for president. The whole of Adams's administration, therefore, was practically one long campaign. Few measures were decided on their merits; most were discussed from the standpoint of their influence on the next election. Adams was proposed as his own successor, but Clay was not for that reason allowed to escape attack. The campaign was one that cannot be looked back upon by an American with pleasure. Personalities were the chief stock in trade. Adams was maligned. Jackson was attacked in his private life, as well as for his public acts. Clay became involved in the charges and counter charges.

Clay replied in a speech at Lexington to the charge of corruption in the election of 1825, in so able a manner, that letters came to him from all over the Union of a tenor similar to one of Webster's in which he said, "You speak very modestly of recent events, in which you have borne so successful a part. I cannot think General Jackson will ever recover from the blow he has received." Mr. Letcher refers to the letter of Mr. Buchanan concerning the charge as if it practically settled the election; for he says, "I am greatly gratified with the result, and

must believe it will have a happy effect upon the Presidential election. It is impossible it should turn out otherwise. Virginia, after this, will not – cannot support the General." But the result proved that Clay could not prevent the election of Jackson; and that Clay's friends as well, failed to understand the strength of the popular movement for Jackson. The event which hurt Clay most of all was that his own beloved state of Kentucky had given its vote to Jackson. How deeply this grieved him may be seen from his letter to his friend Adam Beatty:

'From the information which your letter communicates. . . . there is reason to apprehend that the vote of Kentucky has been given to General Jackson. Without that event, there is but too much probability of his election. To this decision of the people of the United States, patriotism and religion both unite in enjoining submission and resignation. For one, I shall endeavor to perform that duty. As a private citizen, and as a lover of liberty, I shall ever deeply deplore it. And the course of my own state, ... will mortify and distress me. I hope, nevertheless, that I shall find myself able to sustain with composure the shock of this event, and every other trial to which I shall be destined."

To Mr. Niles he writes, "My health and my spirits, too, have been better, since the event was known, than they were many weeks before. And yet all my opinions are unchanged and unchangeable, about the dangers of the precedent which we have established. The military principle has triumphed, and triumphed in the person of

one devoid of all the graces, elegances, and magnanimity, of the accomplished men of the profession." These extracts show how keenly Clay felt the defeat of Adams in this election; or perhaps, better, they show how greatly he was distressed at the triumph of Jackson.

On retiring from the office of Secretary of State, March 1829, Clay could not refrain from emphasizing the above idea in a speech at a banquet which was given to him by his friends. Again in a great speech at Lexington, he took occasion to affirm that an error had been made in electing a man to the presidency who wished to rule on military principles; and whose first act had been to fill the important places in the governmental service on the principle that to the "victors belong the spoils." He closed this speech with a reference to himself which shows how constantly the charge of corruption kept rankling in his mind.

"I have doubtless committed many faults and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I can say, and in the presence of my God and this assembled multitude, I will say, that I have honestly and faithfully served my country; that I have never wronged it; and that, however unprepared I lament that I am to appear in the Divine presence on other accounts, I invoke the stern justice of his judgment on my public conduct, without the smallest apprehension of his displeasure."

At this time Clay seemed to feel that he had finished his public career, and was content to retire to his farm and his family. That he was sincere is seen in the fact that

he declined to be returned to the House, and rejected the suggestion that he should go to the Kentucky legislature. Yet scarcely a year passed till we find him making a political pilgrimage through the south; and in 1831 he entered the senate of the United States, where he strove with Webster and Calhoun for leadership in that body when it was at the zenith of its fame. For eleven years he remained in the senate. During this period, he was once a candidate for president; and, later in 1840, he sought the nomination from the Whigs in vain; for, on the ground of availability, it went to Harrison, a man vastly his inferior in mental ability, and in real qualifications for the office.

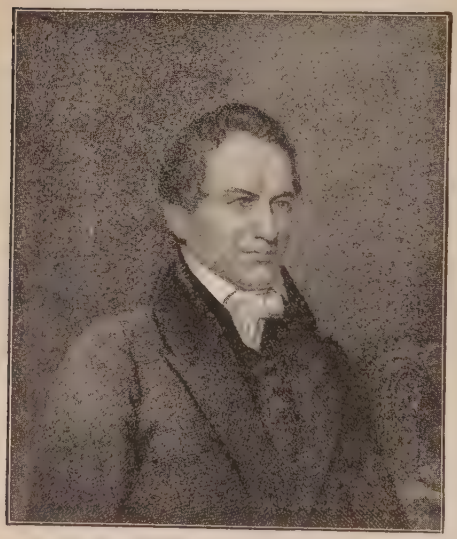
However it was during these years that Clay reached the height of his power. Yet it seemed that fate was ever against him. In one way or another he was prevented from testing his theories in actual measures. When Congress was with him Jackson as president blocked his way. Later when the House was won he was in a minority in the Senate. Finally in 1841, House, Senate and President were all seemingly in harmony with him. He outlined his plans. He went to Washington full of hope. At last he could press his measures to a test. But this time the frailty of human life balked his plans; for, only one month after his inauguration Harrison died. Tyler became president, only to quarrel with Clay, and to veto many of his pet measures. Clay strove for a year, and finally saw two of his plans successful, one negative the other positive. The Sub-Treasury law was repealed; and a moderately protect-

ive tariff act was placed on the statute book. But the bank act which was to crown the work, as Clay believed, was defeated; and his land bill rested among the acts slain by Tyler's veto pen. Feeling that his work was done, and longing also for rest and home Clay resigned in 1842. His farewell speech to the Senate was dramatic in its form and in its occasion. Although he had had many sharp and bitter contests with senators, now that the moment of parting had come, the high place which he held in their estimation was seen. It is said that few eyes were dry as Clay's farewell words fell from his eloquent lips.

But let us study those years more in detail, to try to find out and judge of the merit of the measures that Clay struggled so hard to put into the form of laws, or to prevent from going on the statute book.

One of the first questions that demanded Clay's attention on his entrance again into the Senate pertained to the management of the public land. There was a movement on foot to withdraw all public lands from market for a time. The great debate in 1830 between Webster and Hayne had originated in a resolution of Senator Foote of Connecticut to have a committee appointed to consider the advisability of such a measure. The discussion opened up the whole question of the States Right doctrine, and various propositions were brought before Congress. Some would give the lands to the states; others would sell them to the states in which they lay at a merely nominal sum. The question had become in part an issue also between the eastern and western sec-

tions of the Union. Thus the greatest questions of the day were involved in the settlement of the land problem. In this condition of affairs the whole subject was referred to the committee of Manufacturers of which Clay was chairman. It must be remembered that at this time, 1832, Clay was a candidate for the presidency, hence it was presumed that any report he could make would injure him in some section of the Union. We must also note that his committee was not the natural one to which to refer such a measure. Evidently we may conclude that it was sent to his committee for political purposes. Clay did not hesitate to grapple with the problem; he proved his courage at least, whether his report was marked by the highest statesmanship or not. The committee reported against lowering the price of the land which had been fixed at $1.25 per acre by the law of 1820, and against ceding the land to the states; but it favored distributing the proceeds of the sale of the lands



Robert Y. Hayne.
Born Nov. 10, 1791. Died Sept. 24, 1841.

among the states, after reserving ten per cent of the receipts to be distributed among the new states. Clay here began his struggle for the distribution of the proceeds of the land sales among the states, a struggle which he never abandoned till he left the senate in 1842, unable to secure its adoption. Evidently there was a close relationship in Clay's mind between land-sale distribution and the tariff. The revenues of the government during these years were in excess of its needs. A reduction of income must be found somewhere.

Clay did not claim the constitutional right to tax, to collect revenue from the people with one hand in order to get an income that the national government might in turn distribute it with the other hand to the states. However, he did insist that the income from the land sales might be so disposed of, and in that way the revenue of the government be lessened. The only alternative to this policy would be to reduce the duty on imports. The latter measure was the one desired by the free-trader, and by the revenue reformer. Clay held out against it and, in 1832, succeeded in securing the passage of a tariff law which was strongly protective in its effects. The passage of this law was made the occasion for South Carolina to pass her resolutions of nullification. All Clay's writings both public and private, as well as his speeches, show that he was opposed to the doctrine as set forth by South Carolina. In his great speech on Nullification he used the following language:

"In cases where there are two systems of government, operating at the same time and place, over the same peo-

ple, the one general, the other local or particular, one system or the other must possess the right to decide upon the extent of the powers, in cases of collision which are claimed by the general government. No third party of sufficient impartiality, weight and responsibility, other than such a tribunal as a supreme court, has yet been devised, or perhaps can be created. The doctrine of one side is that the general government though limited in its nature, must necessarily possess the power to ascertain what authority it has and, by consequence, the extent of that authority."

"The South Carolina doctrine, on the other side, is, that that state has the right to determine the limits of the powers granted to the general government: and that whenever any of its acts transcend those limits, in the opinion of the state of South Carolina, she is competent to annul them. It is admitted that the South Carolina doctrine is liable to abuse; but it is contended, that the patriotism of each state is an adequate security, and that the nullifying power would only be exercised, in an extraordinary case where the powers reserved to the states, under the constitution, are usurped by the federal government. And is not the patriotism of all the states, as great a safeguard against the assumption of powers, not conferred upon the general government, as the patriotism of one state is against the denial of powers which are clearly granted?" However he loved the Union above all things, and he therefore stood ready to compromise that the need to use force might not occur. For this reason mainly, I believe it may be said, Clay

introduced the compromise tariff bill of 1833. To be sure in his argument he urged that the measure was necessary to save the protective system from immediate destruction. He also argued that protection would perhaps not be needed by 1842 when the principal reduction in the rate of duty was to be made. Yet when we have made these concessions, it still remains true that the preservation of the Union was the main factor as may be seen from his speeches and letters. In one he says:

"If there be any who want civil war, I am not one of them. I wish to see war of no kind; but above all I do not desire to see civil war. When a civil war shall be lightened up in the bosom of our own happy land, and armies are marching, and commanders are winning their victories, and fleets are in motion on our coast, tell me, if you can . . . its duration.

"In conclusion, allow me to entreat and implore each individual member of this body to bring into the consideration of this measure, which I have had the honor of proposing, the same love of country, which, if I know myself, has actuated me, and the same desire of restoring harmony to the Union which has prompted this effort."

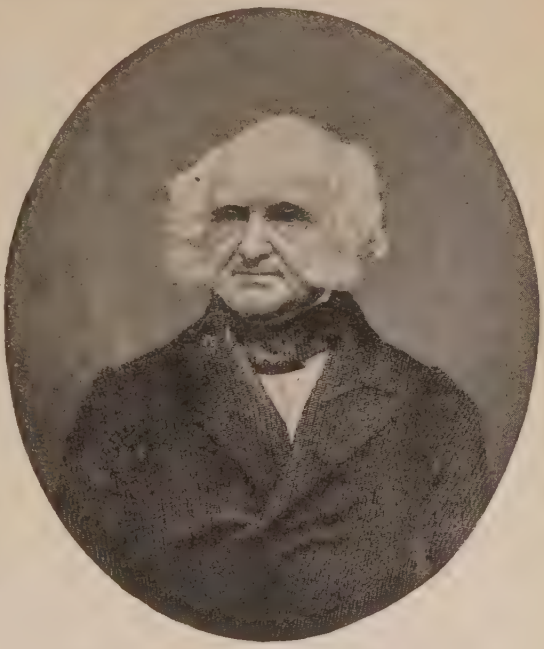
This bill was supported by Calhoun, and thus the nullifiers joined with Clay and the compromisers to settle the question at immediate issue. South Carolina repealed her resolutions and acts of nullification, while Congress passed the so-called "Force Bill" to assert its authority. Jackson, as a result of his course, strengthened his position with the north especially, while Clay

strengthened his right to the title of the "Great Compromiser."

Thus while Clay was ready to compromise on the tariff for the sake of the Union, there was one subject on which he never would consent to lower his flag. The national bank called forth all the resources of his brain and tongue. He forced the issue of its recharter into the campaign of 1832, and lost. If Jackson at that time had concluded not to push his opposition to the bank further, the making the question an issue in the campaign determined him to secure its destruction. When, July 4, 1832, the recharter bill came before Jackson he did not hesitate, although it was known that a large section of his own party were enlisted on the side of the bank. Jackson's veto message of the 10th of July appealed to the people to come to his aid in his great struggle for their rights against the giant bank monopoly. The leaders might hesitate to follow him, but the great common people did not. The result of the election was the overwhelming defeat of Clay and the bank. Jackson seized upon this so-called verdict of the people to push the bank to its destruction. His own officers must follow his lead. When McLane hesitated to remove the government deposits from the vaults of the bank, another place was found for him, and Duane was made his successor as Secretary of the Treasury. When the latter refused to remove the deposits, although Jackson had assumed the responsibility for the act, he was promptly removed and Taney appointed in his place. Oct. 1, 1833, the bank ceased to receive any more funds of the

United States, and by March of the following year, it ceased to have any of the government revenue in its possession.

Clay opposed Jackson in all these measures in the most powerful way; but, although joined by Webster and Calhoun, as well as by many former friends of Jackson, it was of no avail. The people were with Jackson. Perhaps the keenest criticism that can be made upon Clay during these years is that he was only a negative force. When he saw that the people had pronounced against the then existing banking system, he had nothing to propose in its stead. He struggled for its restoration till 1842; then, after his failure, due to Tyler's veto, he turned to other subjects, recognizing that his pet meas-



Martin Van Buren. Eighth President of the U. S. Born 1782. Died 1862.

ure could not again, soon at least, be able to obtain a favorable hearing from the American people.

In Van Buren's administration it was proposed to substitute the Independent Treasury for the National Bank. Clay opposed the plan, and predicted dire disaster to the country should it be adopted. In 1840 the measure became a law, only, to be repealed the next year when the Whigs under Clay's and Harrison's leadership came into power. In 1846 when the Democrats again triumphed the system was reestablished, and exists today with few opponents. Clay's predictions remain unfulfilled. It is to be noted in general that during these years Clay failed to move with the progress of events. He stood for an earlier policy, and opposed nearly all plans that marked an innovating spirit. His remedy for the ills of the crisis of 1837 was to return to the bank, to protection, to the distribution of the income from land sales among the states; and as we have seen he urged the repeal of the Sub-Treasury plans of managing the governmental revenues.

Gradually the slavery issue forced itself to the front Clay's location as well as his disposition made him a compromiser. He opposed the Abolitionists and insisted that they were endangering the Union by their course. The petitions which came to Congress regarding slavery in the District of Columbia seemed to Clay to be dangerous, and unnecessary. While he did not deny the constitutional right of Congress to legislate on the subject, he held that to do so would be violating an implied promise to Maryland and Virginia when they ceded the

District. On the other hand Clay would not go with the extremists of the south, in denying the Right of Petition. He opposed the policy pursued by the extremists in both sections, and tried to put a restraining hand on each. He denied *in toto* the right of the nation to interfere with slavery in the states; and affirmed that the slave-master had a right to his property, and that each state was free to act as it pleased.

If the question, he once said, was concerning the introduction of slaves, "No man in it would oppose their admission with more determined resolution and consciencious repugnance than I should." But he adds: "What is best to be done for their happiness and our own, now that they are here?" "In the slave states the alternative is that the white man must govern the black, or the black govern the white." It was this thought that seems to have dominated Clay's instinctive love of liberty.

Clay was not always consistent in his arguments on this question. He wished to have the free negroes colonized in Africa, and supported the colonization society for that reason. Yet he in one breath said that they are the off-scouring of society, and in the next that they would carry religion and civilization back with them to Africa. In arguing for this society he said:

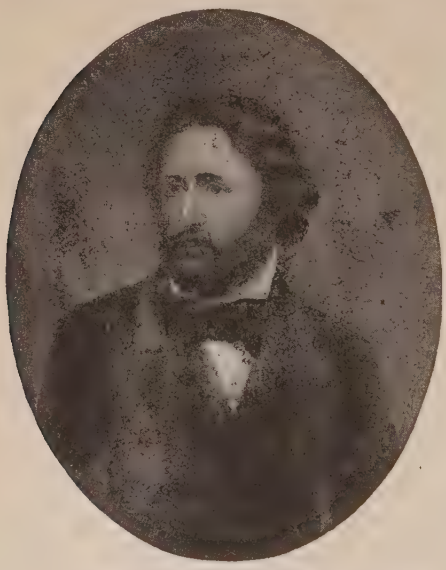
"This society is well aware, I repeat, that they cannot touch the subject of slavery." . . . "Of all descriptions of our population, that of the free colored, taken in the aggregate, is the least prolific, because of the checks arising from vice and want." . . . "If I could be in-

strumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of the country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it, by foreign nations; if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered state that gave me birth, or that not less beloved state which kindly adopted me as her son; I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs even decreed to the most successful conqueror." . . . "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law, and liberty." . . . "Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and the whites. If the principle of colonization should be confined to them; if a colony can be firmly established and successfully continued in Africa which should draw off annually an amount of that portion of our population equal to its annual increase, much good will be done." . . . "Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquility; it addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks

to affect no man's property. It has neither the power nor the will to affect the property of any one contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminish the value of the property left behind."

There was no hesitation in 1844 in giving Clay the nomination for president. The Whigs had as they believed been betrayed by Tyler, so now they would nominate the great leader of their party, as they ought to have done in 1840. No doubt many factors entered into the result. Two however seem to have turned the scale against Clay. For the last time Jackson entered the field, and revived the old cry of "bargain and corruption." This old charge again confronted Clay. Again he proved its falsity, but doubtless thousands believed Jackson. The other factor was Clay's own. He was opposed at heart to the annexation of Texas, and had said so in a straight-forward manner. But during the campaign to try to save votes or to secure votes in the south, he was enticed into writing some six letters, the first explaining his views, and the others attempting to explain the explanation. Those who were influenced at all were in the north. Polk could under no circumstances have been deprived of a vote in the south, for both were radically for annexation. In the north, however, when it became evident that Clay was attempting to hedge, disaster was certain. The campaign in his cause flagged, Greely says, from the moment his letters appeared. Silence might have given him Michigan and New York and the presidency. His letters were factors

at least in losing both. For the next few years Clay was only an interested spectator of the exciting drama that was playing at Washington. He viewed the struggle over the institutions of the territories with alarm. The Wilmot Proviso, and the debate it aroused caused him to fear again for his beloved Union. By 1849 it seemed that the hour of danger had come. Oregon was organized as a territory with slavery excluded. Every sign pointed to the admission of California as a free state, but perhaps only at the cost of secession and war. The south felt that the Mexican war had been fought largely by its sons, and now for the results of the war to strengthen the power of the free states seemed to it insufferable. At the best it was willing to compromise only by extending the line 36° 30′ to the Pacific.



John C. Fremont, "The Pathfinder of the Rockies." Born 1813. Died 1890.

At this juncture Clay was persuaded to return to the Senate. He came back longing to reconcile the north and the south. To him the slavery issue was not so im-

portant as to those farther north or farther south. He held slaves, but he could see them freed with equanimity; so he could not understand those from the extreme south who felt that their whole life was absorbed in the continued existence of the slave system. He did not feel that social, industrial and political institutions were practically based on its continuance. In short he could not understand why they should wish to break the Union, if they were prevented from extending the system into at least a part of the new territory. But if he could not understand the south, still less could he realize the point of view of the north. Why the northern people should press the issue so as to irritate and madden the south he could not understand. The question to them was only a moral abstraction. They had no slaves. They were in no wise responsible for the existence of slavery. Each state determined that question for itself. Thus it was that Clay was unable to put himself fully in the place of either north or south. What was slavery anyway compared to the Union? In this state of mind, he came, I believe, to Washington. A compromise would settle the question again as it had before. Clay seemed to believe it would settle it forever. He proposed a plan. It finally passed Congress and became known as the "Compromise of 1850," the "finality" compromise. In one sense Clay had not mistaken the temper of the people. The majority both north and south were ready to yield something for the sake of Union.

Clay did not live to know that his "finality" measure proved to be only a temporary makeshift. He died in

1852, at the moment when both the great parties had placed on their banners the promise of faithfulness to his great Compromise. We may believe that Clay had no conception that in less than ten years from that time a million men from north and south would confront each other with arms in hands, to fight out the great issue that he supposed he had settled, perhaps, for all time.

Of Clay then we may conclude: He was a man of wonderful personality and power. His voice and presence charmed all who came within their influence. On the whole he was not a creative statesman, yet he was ready with measures for the day. His mind was that of one who stood ready to compromise, and his great work in our history perhaps was to postpone the day of settlement of the slavery question till it could be settled right, and yet preserve the Union. This last word was the dearest of all to him, and his career, though marked with faults and weaknesses, was never untrue to it. As he himself said, he could challenge the judgment of God on his public acts, and could feel that he would not there be found wanting.

HENRY CLAY.

The Pacificator and Compromiser.

(1777-1852.)

By G. Mercer Adam.*

ANOTHER of the notable men in American public life who desired, but failed in securing, the prize of the Presidency of these United States, is Henry Clay, "the mill-boy of the Virginia slashes," who rose to eminence in the Senate and was repeatedly the Speaker of that high body, and one of the most able, prominent, and interesting figures in the political history of the nation. Among the statesmen of his era—men like Andrew Jackson, Webster, Calhoun, Monroe, Polk, Van Buren, Albert Gallatin, and John Quincy Adams—few publicists were better known or did more important work than he in shaping the institutions of the country, and, on repeated critical occasions, was invaluable in the services he rendered the state in connection with its compromise legislation in matters appertaining to the tariff and to the embarrassing and distracting question of slavery. Throughout the political turmoil of his age his one patriotic idea in the development of the nation was the maintenance of harmony among its integral parts, and, paramount to all else, the preservation

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of the Union amid the sectional controversies over the giant evil of colored servitude and race subjection. On the question of the tariff, his economic views were those he deemed best suited for a young country needing the fostering encouragement of protection, an attitude which, though it pleased the North and East, offended the South and West, and, in consequence, compelled Clay more than once to compromise on the matter, as he was led to compromise, for the sake of peace, between the sections, on the issue of slavery. In these great questions, political motives in large measure ruled Clay, especially when he sought elevation to the Presidency, an unfortunate though natural ambition on his part, which made him the sport of circumstance, and one of the most disappointed of men in the history of American parties. Could he have foreseen in his day the turn events were to take later in regard to slavery, he would have perhaps taken more decided ground in its discussion, consonant with his own feelings, and abandoned his attitude as a trimmer and compromiser on the distracting question. Nor, from a present-day point of view, was he more fortunate in the bitterly hostile position he early took towards England, in urging on the War of 1812; though in this he had the popular heart, and especially the West and his own State of Kentucky, with him in championing the War by his invectives against the motherland, and by his impassioned appeals to national patriotism and the pride of arms. Rather than pressing on the war, Clay would have been wiser to have heeded the interests of the East, voiced by Webster in New England, and so spared the country the humiliation which came of

disaster and defeat, especially in the unjustifiable invasion of Canada, and a Peace treaty which settled nothing, though it vindicated the national honor by practically ending England's offensive impressment of American sailors and forcing her to respect the New World Republic by abandoning the exercise of her "right of search" on the high seas. England, doubtless, deserved the chastisement she got from the American marine on the Lakes and the reverse she met with at New Orleans, though these were offset not so gratifying to American pride in the capture of Washington and the burning of its public buildings, and other incidents of the war, which England, we know, was loath to engage in, especially while in the throes of a European conflict which put Anglo-Saxon pluck and hardihood to the severest test. At the close of the conflict, Clay rendered good service on the Peace commission, to which he had been appointed with J. Q. Adams, Gallatin, and others, in securing—bad as the Treaty was—a more favorable settlement than might otherwise have been effected, particularly in insisting on England's abatement of her imperious demands. For this he deserved praise, though the War as a whole was objectionable, and was brought on, as we have seen, largely by Clay's own lack of restraint in his popular appeals to passion rather than to reason. Vastly more to his credit was his long subsequent career as a statesman, in the formative era of the nation, when it became interested in such questions as that of a National Bank to counteract the disadvantages of the multiplication of State Banks, with their depreciated currency; in money appropriations for the building of national highways, canals, and other facilities for opening up

the then Far West; in tariff legislation, which should encourage the native manufactures and limit the dependence of the country upon foreign importation; in lightening the burden of taxation, to meet the cost of the late war and the growing expenditure of the government; in counselling the nation in regard to the admission of new States and Territories; and in taking part in the aggresive and engrossing question of slavery and its future limitations within the bounds of the Union. In these and other matters of necessary and progressive legislation, Clay took an active and prominent part, and contributed much to popular enlightenment in their intelligent discussion, as well as in shaping the form they were to take in the practical measures which were to be proposed with regard to them. In his debates and counsellings, he was usually helpful, as well as clear-sighted, large-minded, and patriotic, though at times unduly under the influence of his own prejudices and passions, and with an eye all the while on the coveted though illusive office of the Presidency.

But it is time to see the man at closer range, and to trace, in more or less precise order, the record of Clay's personal life and public career, so far as may come within the limited scope of this unambitious essay. Henry Clay was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in a district named the "Slashes"—a place of partially cleared timber land, merely slashed or cut over—in Hanover County, Virginia. His father was a Baptist clergyman, of some eloquence and local fame, who, however, died when his son, the future statesman (the fifth in a family of seven children), was but four years old. His ancestors, on both sides, it is un-

derstood, were English, men and women of the people; and therefore the family, beyond the little farm holding, possessed only very modest means, the resources of the humble home being eked out by the thrift and industry of a good and helpful woman, Henry's mother, now so early become a widow. The latter in time (1792) married again, Clay's stepfather being a Capt. Henry Watkins, who was kind to the boy and sought his advancement in life. Before this young Clay had had some little education at the district school in the neighborhood of the "Slashes," where the youth, in the intervals of farm work and carrying grain to the grist-mill, learned to read, write and cipher, as far, we are told, as "Practice." Through the instrumentality of his stepfather, Henry, when he had reached his fourteenth year, was placed for a time in a retail store at Richmond, Va., subsequently passing from this occupation to a clerkship in the office of an official of the High Court of Chancery, where his studious habits and attention to his duties, added to his bright, engaging disposition, brought him to the notice of the eminent Virginia jurist, George Wythe, afterwards Chancellor, and to that of Attorney-General Robert Brooke, whose office he later on entered as a student at law. Presently we find him licensed to practice the profession he had chosen; and in 1797, at the age of twenty, he moved to Lexington, Kentucky (where his mother and step-father resided), to pursue, with unusual gifts, a successful career at the Bar. His legal education, though not extensive, had been practical, picked up in the offices of the Chancery Court Clerk and Attorney-General of Virginia, and aided by the counsels of his friend, the learned Judge

Wythe, whose amanuensis and copyist he had been, and who directed his studies in history, forensic oratory, and the fundamentals of law. He had been an assiduous student, and had moreover diligently prepared himself for addressing juries by utilizing his gifts as an orator and by elaborate courses of reading and declaiming in retirement as well as in local debating societies, where he was deemed a brilliant young fellow, with an assured future before him. In general education he was deficient, and often the fact was revealed in his speeches and addresses, in spite of the glamor of his oratory, patriotic ardor, and the scintillations of his wit. He had a quick intelligence which enabled him to overcome the defects of his education; while his pleasing manners and kindliness of heart won him many friends, who, in contact with him, forgot his unattractive personal appearance and somewhat uncouth Western ways.

From an early period, Clay became absorbed in politics, and by the classes interested in the political questions of the time, his popularity was great; while his devotion to American ideas in discussing and later on in legislating on the problems of the era, marked him out as a representative and rising man. Meanwhile, in 1799, he married Lucretia Hart, who bore him, in all, eleven children; and for his home he purchased 600 acres, near Lexington, Ky., and named the property "Ashland." Here he dispensed a lavish hospitality, while working hard at his profession as a lawyer and making a great reputation at the Bar, especially in the defence of criminals, though having at the same time a large and lucrative practice in civil cases. He also made his mark in the Kentucky State Legislature, to which he

was elected a member, representing at this time the Democratic-Republican party under the leadership of Jefferson. At this era, he warmly advocated the gradual emancipation of the slaves, a risky attitude on this burning question in a border state like Kentucky; but one that did not seem to injure his political prospects; for in 1806, when not yet thirty, we find Clay sent to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of one of the members of that body who had withdrawn from it. In the Senate, he made, even thus early, a favorable impression by his eloquence in debate, as well as on Committees, while also being popular in society circles in the capital. On returning to Kentucky, Clay was elected a member of the lower House in the State Legislature and chosen Speaker; and subsequently he was sent a second time to Washington (1809-10), to fill another unexpired term of a retired member, continuing the while to add to his fame as a debater, and a zealous advocate, at this period, of American manufacturing industries. It was at this time, while Speaker of the Kentucky State Legislature, that Clay fought a duel with a Federalist member, Humphrey Marshall. The provocation was a taunting reference by Marshall in debate to Clay's ultra-protectionist attitude, and to his resolution in the Legislature that all members should clothe themselves in homespun, rather than use imported cloth for men's garments. The taunt, it seems, was deemed so offensive by Clay that he sent Marshall a challenge, and in the hostile encounter both duellists received slight wounds.

Clay's influence as a public man began to be felt in the nation when he was elected to the popular chamber in Con-

gress and became Speaker of the House. This occurred in 1811. At the period, Madison was President, and the government was seeking Non-Intercourse Acts directed against England and France to induce the former power to withdraw its offensive Orders in Council, which placed annoying restrictions on the commerce of neutral nations during the war with France under Bonaparte. In the threatening aspect of international affairs Clay undertook to champion the national honor against both Britain and France, and was especially keen to bring about a war with the former, in defiance of the peace-seeking attitude of Federalist members in Congress. The prevention of impressment by British cruisers and the protection of the Coast against blockades, and other irritating acts on the part of England, were the objects sought in the resort to war. The unnatural conflict was launched in June, 1812, by the calling out of 25,000 troops and the authorized raising of 50,000 volunteers, followed by the invasion of Canada, which fifty years earlier had been wrested by Britain from France. The latter buccaneering expedition, as it has been called, was, as we know, a failure, and the war as a whole went ill, in spite of Clay's firey invocation of the war-spirit and his clamorous incitement to push on the war with the utmost vigor, striking the enemy wherever on sea or land he could effectively be reached. New England and the East were in a large measure opposed to the war, and were humiliated by its disasters. The East styled the resort to arms the mischeivous work of young Western and Southern hot-heads, and hence it was justly opposed by men of sagacity and discretion, such as Daniel Webster, Josiah Quincy,

and other Massachusetts and New York publicists, who deemed the war "a wanton sacrifice of Eastern interests." At an interval when the war dragged, in the year 1814, it was thought that England might be induced to make peace, and so end the conflict which neither nation should have entered upon; and at this juncture Clay was nominated, with Gallatin, Bayard, Russell, and J. Q. Adams, as a Peace Commissioner, and in accepting the post he resigned the speakership of the House of Representatives and proceeded with his colleagues to Europe. Abroad, Clay was useful in the capacity in which he was sent, though asserting rather unduly the claims of the Republic and showing his aggressive, rather than his diplomatic, front to the English Commissioners. Finally, Peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814; and Clay, after spending some little time in Paris and in London, at the latter city taking part in negotiating a commercial treaty with England, returned to the New World and resumed his duties as Speaker in Congress.

In Congress Clay was in his element, for he revelled in debate, and, though presiding over the deliberations of the House, he would often address the Chamber in Committee of the Whole, while at the same time pulling political wires and performing the exacting duties, and sometimes drudgery of his important office. So much at home was he in his work, and so admirably fitted was he for its duties, that at this time he refused a tempting offer of the Secretaryship of War and a diplomatic mission to Russia. At this era, the responsibilities of a Cabinet office would not have been to his liking, for many perplexing questions were before the country, now recovering from the depression caused

by the war, including those connected with tariffs and revenues to meet the war debt and other heavy expenditures of the government; while national provision had then to be made for the expanding commerce and the internal development of the nation. Of these questions, Clay was heartily interested in a protective policy, which should aid the development of American manufactures and make the country more independent of foreign imports. During the war, the shutting out of foreign products had given a certain stimulant to native manufacturing, and when the ports on the seacost were again opened and imports began to flow in, there was necessity for checking the latter by tariff imposts in favor of home industry; and in this taxation Clay was actively interested, and thus earned the claim made for him as "the father of American protection." The immediate result, it has to be said, however, was not satisfactory, for, in spite of the high tariff, the gross value of United States imports rose within a year (1814-15) from twelve to over one hundred million dollars—an importation far beyond the then needs of the nation, and which had the effect of closing many native factories and confronting the industrial and commercial classes with entirely new economic conditions.

Another prominent matter which engaged Clay's attention at this era was the legislation necessary to found a new United States Bank, the charter of the first one, established by Hamilton in 1791, having been allowed to expire in 1811. In this affair, Clay completely reversed his earlier record on banking legislation, influenced doubtless by the financial necessities of the time, and by the confusion which

had resulted from the suspension during the war of many of the State Banks and the consequent depreciation of the currency. Instead of opposing a National Bank, as he had hitherto done (Western Democracy being ever jealous of the money-power of the East), Clay now became its champion, fathered as it was by Calhoun, with a capital of $35,000,000. The charter, which was to run for twenty years, was secured in April, 1816. In this year, Monroe was elected President, with Wirt, Calhoun, Crawford of Georgia, and John Quincy Adams for his Cabinet. Clay had expected to be appointed Secretary of State, in place of Adams, for he had now his eye upon the Presidential office; but was offered instead the Secretaryship of War or a mission to England, both of which Clay declined, preferring the Speakership of the House, with its more commanding position and influence. Here he became ingrossed in the revived slavery question, which now divided, and indeed threatened to put an end to, the Union, for the slave trade had become increasingly profitable—the value of the yearly cotton export to England having reached close upon twenty million dollars. As a chattel, the slave himself, moreover, increased in value, and being deemed essential to the prosperity of the South, Southern leaders held tenaciously to the rights in slave property they considered inherently theirs, and viewed with alarm the increase in the number of the Free States and the clamor in the North for the exclusion of slaves from Missouri on its admission as a State. At this time, there were eleven Free States in the Union, the number being balanced by Slave States; and so jealously was the admission of new States and territories watched that

the proposal to admit them as non-slaveholding raised angry remonstrance, and even threats of secession, only allayed by off-sets of slaveholding areas to maintain the sectional and political equilibrium. The issue between the sections became the keener when it was seen that the perpetuation of slavery and its ultimate extinction were not matters on moral grounds to be fought over, but the preponderance of sectional and political power; hence, the struggle, as it has been pointed out, became one only of commercial profit and political power, and not one to be fought against as a giant evil on the ground of moral principle. This being the motive and the attitude of parties in 1819, naturally the admission of Missouri became a great bone of contention, particularly as Illinois had just been admitted as a Free State, while Maine, now about to separate from Massachusetts, was petitioning for admission into the Union, and the people of Arkansas were seeking for a territorial government, without slavery restriction. For two years (1819-20) the battle went on for the admission of Missouri, neither of the parties agreeing as to admitting it as a Free or a Slavery-restricted State, until Senator Thomas of Illinois, warmly supported by Henry Clay, offered a compromise by which the State was admitted without restriction, save in that part of the territory outside of the State, ceded by France to the United States, north of the latitude of 36 deg. 30 m., where slaves should thereafter be excluded. The compromise was probably a wise one for the time, and a measure of temporary expediency, and this Clay at least deemed it, acting from patriotic motives, with the object of preserving the Union.

After the fight to admit Missouri as a Slave State, for the Clay compromise was in the interest of the South, Clay resigned the Speakership of the House to enable him to retrieve his personal fortunes by practice at the Bar. Three years afterwards, he was again elected to Congress and was once more chosen as Speaker, when he took an active part in securing money appropriations for the survey and construction of national highways to the West, then fast opening up. At this time he also advocated eloquently the cause of Greek liberty and independence, as he had previously given his sympathy to the Latin States in South America. This was the era when the Monroe Doctrine, as it came to be called, was promulgated—a doctrine expressed by President Monroe in his Message to Congress, in December, 1823, and insisting as a maxim of American policy that European nations should not meddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. At the period, the doctrine was specially directed against Russian colonization on the Pacific coast, but was applied generally to restrain the interposition of European powers on this continent. In the tariff debates of 1824, Mr. Clay took also a prominent part, in Committees of the House, in advocating further protection for American manufactures, his speeches at this time being notable for their force and fervor, in the elaboration of what he fitly called "the American system." Mr. Webster at the time took the opposite side, though that statesman subsequently changed his views and became a fervid adherent of protection, under which the New England States extensively enlarged its manufacturing industries. Later on, when Clay became Secretary of State under John Q. Adams, he increasingly yielded

to the clamor for a high tariff—the "tariff of abominations" (1828)—which, while it gave umbrage to the South, gave Clay the occasion to act once more the part of pacificator between the chief sections of the country.

At this period of his public career, Mr. Clay, who was not only popular but ambitious, began to have unconcealed aspirations towards the Presidency. The competitors for the high office were however numerous, the three most notable being General Andrew Jackson, who had won military fame in the War of 1812; John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State and the choice of New England; and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Monroe's Secretary of War. The Secretary of the Treasury in the Monroe administration, W. H. Crawford of Georgia, was also a candidate. Henry Clay, who was the favorite throughout the West, as well as popular in Congress, was the nominee of the Legislatures of Kentucky and four other States. The contest at this time (1824) lay more particularly between Adams and Jackson, and as neither candidate received a majority of the electoral vote, the election was transferred to the House of Representatives, with the result that Adams was chosen, to the disappointment of Jackson, and also of Clay, who, however, voted himself for Adams when he realized that his own prospects were *nil*. In return for this support, Adams made Clay his Secretary of State, which so ruffled Jackson's feelings that he characterized the appointment as "a bargain and sale" between the two men. Clay, however, disregarded the taunt, though he always bore Jackson a grudge for it; and, resigning the Speakership, he entered upon the duties of his office. Adams' ad-

ministration was in no way significant; nor were Clay's services as State Secretary distinguished. As an executive officer, Clay did not shine, his true and successful field of labor being the Legislature. As a step to the Presidency, it turned out to be a false one, for Clay lost influence in the country and gained no popularity in office. It was at this period that he had his duel with John Randolph, owing to an offensive remark of the latter with reference to the appointment of envoys to the Panama Congress. In this matter, Randolph, it seems, had charged Clay and President Adams with making "a coalition of Bilfil and Black George —the combination, unheard of till then, of the Puritan and the blackleg." The remark stung Clay, who was not then in good health and thought of resigning the Secretaryship. The consequence was a challenge from Clay, the meeting taking place near Little Falls bridge, on the Virginia bank of the Potomac, April 8, 1826. Neither duellist was hurt; though Clay's bullet pierced Randolph's coat; while Randolph, though a good shot, did not wish to kill or even wound his adversary. The contestants shook hands over the matter, Clay effusively affirming that "he would not have hurt Randolph for a thousand worlds." The duel did no good to Clay, who was known as a bitter opponent of the then code of honor; while it gave increased currency to the gibe in Andrew Jackson's mouth, that Clay had sold himself to John Quincy Adams, whose administration was now on the wane and about to be superseded by the Democratic one of the hero of New Orleans.

With the disappearance of the Federalists, Western Democracy was now rapidly coming to the front; and in 1828

this showed itself unmistakably in the contest for the Presidency, when almost the entire South and West declared for Jackson and swamped the vote for Adams. The result was a keen disappointment to Clay, not so much because he desired Adams's re-election, but because he hated and distrusted Jackson, and was piqued at his triumph. In March, 1829, on resigning his office, Clay retired to his Kentucky farm at Ashland, feeling sore at the unfavorable trend of events, though gratified at his continued popularity in his own State, whose people gave him warm acclaim and held him in high esteem as a great party chieftain. Two years later, the old longing to be in the thick of political excitement drove him once more to the national capital, whither, at the close of the year 1831, he came as Senator from Kentucky, and the recognized leader of the National Republican party. Here he took a prominent part in the tariff debates of 1832, advocating, as of yore, protection to the native industries, and reasserting the principles he had ably laid down in the American Economic System he had argued for in 1824. Party strife on this issue continued to be as bitter as ever; while Jackson's veto on the recharter of the United States Bank heightened Clay's anger against the President, and this provoked Jackson to add to his ready defamation of Clay as a politican, in spite of the Kentuckian's gifts as an orator and his popularity in the Senate and at the capital.

In the Senate, Clay continued his personal antagonism to Jackson and his unappeasable opposition to his administration; but the people rallied to the President's side in the latter's war on moneyed institutions, and the Southerners

were implacably hostile to Clay's views on the need of a high tariff. The Kentuckian chieftain's attitude on economic measures was so pronounced that once more he was driven to a compromise, for the sake of peace, particularly in view of South Carolina's threats of nullification and incipient secession. In spite of the hostility he aroused in regard to the measures he advocated, Clay's personal popularity continued, as was unmistakably shown by the reception he met with in his occasional tours, even in the Eastern States, where abolitionism was rampant and public opinion was divided on the political issues involved in the existing banking system. In the successive elections of 1836 and 1840, when the Democrats elected Van Buren to the Presidency and the Whigs returned Harrison, Clay's prospects of elevation to the high office were in no way advanced; though he was still prominent in the nominating conventions of his party; and, with Webster and Calhoun, was a force in the councils of the nation. Once more disappointed in his hope of reaching the Presidency, especially as the Whigs had now come into power and installed General Harrison in office, the latter sought to placate Clay by the offer of the portfolio of State. This, however, Clay declined, Webster meanwhile accepting the office; and, soon after, Harrison died and John Tyler, the then vice-President, came to the Presidency. Clay now broke with Tyler, whose leanings were Democratic, and who offended the great Kentuckian and his Whig allies by refusing to sign the bill rechartering the United States Bank. Disgusted with the way in which politics were now drifting, and bitterly disappointed with his friends in elevating Tyler to office, Clay

withdrew in 1842 from Congress and delivered an able and feeling valedictory in the Senate. In 1844, the Fates however again played with the old chieftain, for in that year Clay was once more put forward as the Whig candidate for the Presidency; while the Democrats, who at this time were not for the annexation of Texas, in the slave-holding interest, put forward James K. Polk. The result was the defeat once more of Clay, who, though 300,000 votes were cast for him, was beaten by the united Democrats, aided by the anti-slavery vote, which put Polk in office. This new disappointment was ill-borne by Clay, and when the orator, sometime afterwards, appeared on a public platform in Washington and received a great ovation from an immense audience, it was said of him, "that Clay could get more men to run after him to hear him speak, and fewer to vote for him, than any other man in America."

Once again Clay was called upon to bear the odium and aggravation of defeat, namely in 1848, when the Mexican question was up, and Clay had come out, in an eloquent speech, against the extension of slavery in conquered territory. On this occasion, though the Whigs had no political platform on which to commend their candidate, Clay was again put forward for the Presidency in convention at Philadelphia, his opponent being General Taylor, who had won fame in the Mexican War. On the first ballot, the strength of the respective men was at once seen, Clay receiving only 97 votes to 111 for Taylor. On the fourth ballot, Clay was practically put out of the running, receiving but 32 votes against Taylor's 171 votes. This new embitterment was almost more than Clay could now bear, and

he showed his mortification at the result by refraining from entering upon a canvass. Though at this time nominally out of politics, the old man (he was now seventy-four) was once more returned to the Senate, himself drawn to the Chamber by the conflict which had again broken out, in connection with the new extension of Western States and the demands of the South for more slave territory. Most interesting, though not a little acrimonious, were now the debates in Congress on this irrepressible question, especially as new men had now arisen, like Seward, Chase, Hamlin, Douglas, Benton, and Jeff. Davis, to take the place of, or add to the importance of political discussion on slavery, by the old leaders such as Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. One-half of the nineteenth century had now passed, and save for the truce which was now to be interposed by "the old pacificator," Secession would surely have come, preceded, as was afterwards calamitously to be the case, by a frightful, desolating war. At this exciting time, Clay showed not only consummate statesmanship, but rose to lofty grandeur as a patriot, by the attitude he assumed in seeking to harmonize sectional differences on the burning questions of the era. His two days' speech in the Senate, in February, 1850, is perhaps the most important, as it certainly is the most impressive, of all Clay's public utterances. The sensation it created, feeble and age-worn as he now was, was immense; while the effect of the speech was the greater, in that the orator spoke not only with intense fervor and patriotic ardor, as well as with his old-time charm of eloquence, but rose above all personal interests in his arguments and appeals, including even his life-long and passionate desire for the

Presidency. His major appeal was for peace through concession, and the averting of sectional strife, which otherwise would precipitate a great war. As he neared the grave, the old, long-tried statesman conjured his countrymen to be content once more with a compromise, and so save the Union. A finality measure, unhappily, it was not and could not be; but pacification was meanwhile reached by admitting California as a Free State, "and abolishing slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; while the South was placated by leaving Utah and New Mexico unrestricted as to slavery, and by a more efficient law for the pursuit and capture of fugitive slaves." Compromises, as all know, are on moral grounds not always to be commended; but the Clay Compromise of 1850 was a measure of justifiable as well as of immediate political expediency, which for the time averted secession and held in leash the now thoroughly alarmed and bitterly exasperated South. Nor in offering the compromise did Clay act as a sectional or party man, but only and wholly as a pacificator, who first, and most of all, loved and revered his country, and, in the interest of all, sought, if maintainable, a lasting, undivided Union. This is the honor and glory he won! Such singleness of heart and patriotic ambition as he manifested, in such a juncture, should keep his memory forever sacred in the affections of his countrymen! Fortunately for him, Clay did not live to see the fatal end of the great "irrepressible conflict," and the horrors of internecine strife that ere long ensued, which was to purge the nation of the giant evil he earnestly contended against, and forever remove a foul stain from the proud escutcheon of the Republic. Henry Clay

died at Washington, in his seventy-sixth year, June 29th, 1852.

HENRY CLAY ON AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

From the debate on the Tariff Bill of 1824.

Mr. Chairman, our confederacy has within its vast limits a great diversity of interests; agricultural, planting, farming, commercial, navigating, fishing, manufacturing. No one of these interests is felt in the same degree, and cherished with the same solicitude throughout all parts of the union. Some of them are peculiar to particular sections of our common country. But all these great interests are confided to the protection of one government—to the fate of one ship; and a most gallant ship it is, with a noble crew. If we prosper and are happy, protection must be extended to all; it is due to all. It is the great principle on which obedience is demanded from all. If our essential interests cannot find protection from our government against the policy of foreign powers, where are they to get it? We did not unite for sacrifice, but for preservation. The inquiry should be in reference to the great interests of every section of the union (I speak not of minute subdivisions) what would be done for those interests if that section stood alone and separated from the residue of the republic? If the promotion of those interests would not injuriously affect any other section, then everything should be done for them which would be done if it formed a district government. If they come into absolute collision with the interests of another section, a reconciliation, if possible, should be attempted by mutual con-

cession, so as to avoid a sacrifice of the prosperity of either to that of the other. In such a case, all should not be done for one which would be done, if it were separated and independent—but something; and in devising the measure the good of each part, and of the whole, should be carefully consulted. This is the only mode by which we can preserve, in full vigor, the harmony of the whole union. The south entertains one opinion, and imagines that a modification of the existing policy of the country for the protection of American industry, involves the ruin of the south. The north, the east, the west, hold the opposite opinion, and feel and contemplate in a longer adherence to the foreign policy, as it now exists, their utter destruction. Is it true that the interests of these great sections of our country are irreconcilable with each other? Are we reduced to the sad and afflicting dilemma of determining which shall fall a victim to the prosperity of the other? Happily, I think, there is no such distressing alternative. If the north, the west and the east, formed an independent state, unassociated with the south, can there be a doubt that the restrictive system would be carried to the point of prohibition of every foreign fabric of which they produce the raw material, and which they could manufacture? Such would be their policy if they stood alone; but they are fortunately connected with the south, which believes its interests to require a free admission of foreign manufactures. Here, then, is a case for mutual concession, for fair compromise. The bill under consideration presents this compromise. It is a medium between the absolute exclusion and the unrestricted admission of the produce of foreign industry. It sacrifices the in-

terests of neither section to that of the other; neither, it is true, gets all that it wants, nor is subject to all that it fears. But it has been said that the south obtains nothing in this compromise. Does it lose anything? is the first question. I have endeavored to prove that it does not, by showing that a mere transfer is effected in the source of the supply of its consumption from Europe to America; and that the loss, whatever it may be, of the sale of its great staple in Europe, is compensated by the new market created in America. But does the south really gain nothing in this compromise? The consumption of the other sections, though somewhat restricted, is still left open by this bill to foreign fabrics purchased by southern staples. So far its operation is beneficial to the south, and prejudicial to the industry of the other sections, and that is the point of mutual concession. The south will also gain by the extended consumption of its great staple, produced by an increased capacity to consume it in consequence of the establishment of the home market. But the south cannot exert its industry and enterprise in the business of manufactures! Why not? The difficulties if not exaggerated are artificial, and may, therefore, be surmounted. But can the other sections embark in the planting occupations of the south? The obstructions which forbid them are natural, created by the immutable laws of God, and therefore unconquerable.

Other and animating considerations invite us to adopt the policy of this system. Its importance in connection with the general defence in time of war, cannot fail to be duly estimated. Need I recall to our painful recollection the sufferings, for the want of an adequate supply of absolute neces-

sities, to which the defenders of their country's rights and our entire population were subjected, during the late war? Or to remind the committee of the great advantage of a steady and unfailing source of supply, unaffected alike in war and in peace? Its importance, in reference to the stability of our union, that paramount and greatest of all our interests, cannot fail warmly to recommend it, or at least to conciliate the forbearance of every patriot bosom. Now our people present the spectacle of a vast assemblage of jealous rivals, all eagerly rushing to the sea-board, jostling each other in their way, to hurry off to glutted foreign markets the perishable produce of their labor. The tendency of that policy, in conformity to which this bill is prepared, is to transform these competitors into friends and mutual customers, and by the reciprocal exchanges of their respective productions, to place the confederacy upon the most solid of all foundations, the basis of common interest. And is not government called upon, by every stimulating motive, to adapt its policy to the actual condition and extended growth of our great republic? At the commencement of our constitution, almost the whole population of the United States was confined between the Alleghany Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. Since that epoch, the western part of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, all the western states and territories, have been principally peopled. Prior to that period we had scarcely any interior. An interior has sprung up, as it were by enchantment, and along with it new interests and new relations requiring the parental protection of government. Our policy should be modified accordingly, so as to comprehend all, and sac-

rifice none. And are we not encouraged by the success of past experience, in respect to the only article which has been adequately protected? Already have the predictions of the friends of the American system, in even a shorter time than their most sanguine hopes could have anticipated, been completely realized in regard to that article; and consumption is now better and more cheaply supplied with coarse cottons, than it was under the prevalence of the foreign system.

Even if the benefits of the policy were limited to certain sections of our country, would it not be satisfactory to behold American industry, wherever situated, active, animated and thrifty, rather than persevere in a course which renders us subservient to foreign industry? But these benefits are two-fold, direct and collateral; and in the one shape or the other, they will diffuse themselves throughout the union. All parts of the union will participate, more or less, in both. As to the direct benefits, it is probable that the north and east will enjoy the largest share. But the west and the south will also participate in them. Philidelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond,° will divide with the northern capitals the business of manufacturing. The latter city unites more advantages for its successful prosecution, than any other place I know; Zanesville,° in Ohio, only excepted. And where the direct benefit does not accure, that will be enjoyed of supplying the raw material and provisions for the consumption of artisans. Is it not most desirable to put at rest, and prevent the annual recurrence of this unpleasant subject, so well fitted, by the various interests to which it appeals, to excite irritation and so produce discontent?

Can that be effected by its rejection? Behold the mass of petitions which lie on our table, earnestly and anxiously entreating the protecting interposition of congress against the ruinous policy which we are pursuing. Will these petitioners, comprehending all orders of society, entire states and communities, public companies and private individuals spontaneously assembling, cease in their humble prayers, by your lending a deaf ear? Can you expect that these petitioners and others, in countless numbers, that will, if you delay the passage of this bill, supplicate your mercy, should contemplate their substance gradually withdrawn to foreign countries, their ruin slow, but certain, and as inevitable as death itself, without one expiring effort? You think the measure injurious to you; we believe our preservation depends upon its adoption. Our convictions, mutually honest, are equally strong. What is to be done? I invoke that saving spirit of mutual concession under which our blessed constitution was formed, and under which alone it can be happily administered. I appeal to the south—to the high-minded, generous, and patriotic south ° with which I have so often coöperated, in attempting to sustain the honor and to vindicate the rights of our country. Should it not offer, upon the altar of the public good, some sacrifice of its peculiar opinions? Of what does it complain? A possible temporary enhancement in the objects of consumption. Of what do we complain? A total incapacity, produced by the foreign policy, to purchase, at any price, foreign objects of consumption. In such an alternative, inconvenient only to it, ruinous to us, can we expect too much from southern magnanimity? The just and confident expectation of the

passage of this bill has flooded the country with recent importations of foreign fabrics. If it should not pass, they will complete the work of destruction of our domestic industry. If it should pass, they will prevent any considerable rise in the price of any foreign commodities until our own industry shall be able to supply competent substitutes.

To the friends of the tariff I would also anxiously appeal. Every arrangement of its provisions does not suit each of you; you desire some further alterations; you would make it perfect. You want what you will never get. Nothing human is perfect. And I have seen with great surprise, a piece signed by a member of congress, published in the *National Intelligencer,* stating that this bill must be rejected, and a judicious tariff brought in as its substitute. A *judicious* tariff! No member of congress could have signed that piece; or, if he did, the public ought not to be deceived. If this bill do not pass, unquestionably no other can pass at this session, or probably during this congress. And who will go home and say that he rejected all the benefits of this bill, because molasses has been subjected to the enormous additional duty of five cents per gallon? I call, therefore, upon the friends of the American policy to yield somewhat of their own peculiar wishes, and not to reject the practicable in the idle pursuit after the unattainable. Let us imitate the illustrious example of the framers of the constitution, and, always remembering that whatever springs from man partakes of his imperfections, depend upon experience to suggest, in future, the necessary amendments.

We have had great difficulties to encounter. First, the splendid talents that are arrayed in this house against us.

Second, we are opposed by the rich and powerful in the land. Third, the executive government, if any, affords us but a cold and equivocal support. Fourth, the importing and navigating interest, I verily believe, from misconception are averse to us. Fifth, the British factors and the British influence are inimical to our success. Sixth, long-established habits and prejudices oppose us. Seventh, the reviewers and literary speculators, foreign and domestic. And lastly, the leading presses of the country, including the influence of that which is established in this city, and sustained by the public purse.

From some of these, or other causes, the bill may be postponed, thwarted, defeated. But the cause is the cause of the country, and it must and will prevail. It is founded in the interests and affections of the people. It is as native as the granite deeply imbosomed in our mountains. And, in conclusion, I would pray God, in his infinite mercy, to avert from our country the evils which are impending over it, and, by enlightening our councils, to conduct us into that path which leads to riches, to greatness, and to glory.

CLAY'S ADDRESS TO LAFAYETTE.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Washington, Dec. 10, 1824.

General,—The House of Representatives of the United States, impelled alike by its own feelings and by those of the whole American people, could not have assigned to me a more gratifying duty than that of presenting to you cordial congratulations upon the occasion of your recent arrival in the United States, in compliance with the wishes of Con-

gress, and to assure you of the very high satisfaction which your presence affords on this early theatre of your glory and renown. Although but few of the members who compose this body, shared with you in the war of our revolution, all have, from impartial history, or from faithful tradition, a knowledge of the perils, the sufferings, and the sacrifies, which you voluntarily encountered, and the signal services, in America and in Europe, which you performed for an infant, a distant, and an alien people; and all feel and own the very great extent of the obligations under which you have placed our country. But the relations in which you have ever stood to the United States, interesting and important as they have been, do not constitute the only motive of the respect and admiration which the house of representatives entertain for you. Your consistency of character, your uniform devotion to regulated liberty, in all the vicissitudes of a long and arduous life, also command its admiration. During all the recent convulsions of Europe, amidst, as after the dispersion of every political storm the people of the United States have beheld you, true to your old principles, firm and erect, cheering and animating, with your well-known voice, the votaries of liberty, its faithful and fearless champion, ready to shed the last drop of that blood which here you so freely and nobly spilt, in the same holy cause.

The vain wish has been sometimes indulged that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his country, and to contemplate the intermediate changes which had taken place; to view the forests felled, the cities built, the mountains levelled, the canals cut, the highways con-

structed, the progress of the arts, the advancement of learning, and the increase of population. General, your present visit to the United States is a realization of the consoling object of that wish. You are in the midst of posterity. Everywhere you must have been struck with the great changes, physical and moral, which have occurred since you left us. Even this very city (Washington), bearing a venerated name, alike endeared to you and to us, has since emerged from the forest which then covered its site. In one respect you behold us unaltered, and this is in the sentiment of continued devotion to liberty, and of ardent affection and profound gratitude to your departed friend, the father of his country, and to you and to your illustrious associates in the field and in the cabinet, for the multiplied blessings which surround us, and for the very privilege of addressing you, which I now exercise. This sentiment, now fondly cherished by more than ten millions of people, will be transmitted, with unabated vigor, down the tide of time, through the countless millions who are destined to inhabit this continent, to the latest posterity.

Extracts from the Speeches and Letters of Henry Clay.

Selected, Arranged and Edited by C. K. Edmunds, Ph. D.

THE FIRST RECORDED CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS OF HENRY CLAY.

In the Senate of the United States, April 6, 1810.

DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

This is the first oratorical effort of Clay during his congressional career which has been preserved. An earlier speech delivered while senator in 1807, on internal improvement, has not been preserved. These two addresses correspond to the two branches of the national policy which constituted the famous "American System" of which Clay was such an ardent advocate.

"Mr. President—

"The local interest of the quarter of the country, which I have the honor to represent, will apologize for the trouble I may give you on this occasion. My colleague has proposed an amendment to the bill before you, instructing the secretary of the navy, to provide supplies of cordage, sailcloth, hemp, etc., and to give a preference to those of American growth and manufacture. It has been moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd) to strike out this part of the amendment; and, in the course of the discussion which has arisen, remarks have been made on the general policy of promoting manufactures. The propriety of this policy is, perhaps, not very intimately connected with the subject before us; but it is, nevertheless within the legitimate and admissable scope of debate. Under this impression I offer my sentiments.

"In inculcating the advantage of domestic manufactures, it never entered the head, I presume, of any one, to change the habits of the nation from an agricultural to a manufacturing community. No one, I am persuaded, ever thought of converting the plough-share and the sickle into the spindle and the shuttle. And yet this is the delusive and erroneous view too often taken of the subject. The opponents of the manufacturing system transport themselves to the establishments of Manchester and Birmingham, and, dwelling on the indigence, vice, and wretchedness prevailing there, by pushing it to an extreme, argue that its introduction into this country will necessarily be attended by the same mischievous and dreadful consequences. But what is the fact? That England is the manufacturer of a great part of the world; and that, even there, the numbers thus employed bear an inconsiderable proportion to the whole mass of population. Were we to become the manufacturers of other nations, effects of the same kind might result. But if we limit our efforts by our own wants, the evils apprehended would be found to be chimerical. The invention and improvement of machinery, for which the present age is so remarkable, dispensing in a great degree with manual labor; and the employment of those persons, who, if we were engaged in the pursuit of agriculture alone, would be either unproductive, or exposed to indolence and immorality, will enable us to supply our wants without withdrawing our attention from agriculture—that first and greatest source of national wealth and happiness. A judicious American farmer, in the household way, manufactures whatever is requisite for his family. He squanders but little in the gewgaws of Europe. He pre-

sents in epitome, what the nation ought to be *in extenso*. Their manufactories should bear the same proportion, and effect the same object in relation to the whole community, which the part of his household employed in domestic manufacturing, bears to the whole family. It is certainly desirable, that the exports of the country should continue to be the surplus production of tillage, and not become those of manufacturing establishments. But it is important to diminish our imports; to furnish ourselves with clothing, made by our own industry; and to cease to be dependent, for the very coats we wear, upon a foreign and perhaps inimical country. The nation that imports its clothing from abroad is but little less dependent than if it imported its bread.

"The fallacious course of reasoning urged against domestic manufactures, namely, the distress and servitude produced by those of England, would equally indicate the propriety of abandoning agriculture itself. Were you to cast your eyes upon the miserable peasantry of Poland, and revert to the days of feudal vassalage, you might thence draw numerous arguments, of the kind now under consideration, against the pursuits of the husbandman. What would become of commerce, the favorite theme of some gentlemen, if assailed with sort of weapon? The fraud, perjury, cupidity, and corruption, with which it is unhappily too often attended, would at once produce its overthrow. In short, sir, take the black side of the picture, and every human occupation will be found pregnant with fatal objections.

"The opposition to manufacturing institutions recalls to my recollection the case of a gentleman, of whom I have heard. He had been in the habit of supplying his table from

a neighboring cook, and confectioner's shop, and proposed to his wife a reform, in this particular. She revolted at the idea. The sight of a scullion was dreadful, and her delicate nerves could not bear the clattering of kitchen furniture. The gentleman persisted in his design; his table was thenceforth cheaper and better supplied, and his neighbor, the confectioner, lost one of his best customers. In like manner Dame Commerce will oppose domestic manufactures. She is a flirting, flippant, noisy jade, and if we are governed by her fantasies, we shall never put off the muslins of India and the clothes of Europe. But I trust that the yeomanry of the country, the true and genuine landlords of this tenement, called the United States, disregarding her freaks, will persevere in reform, until the whole national family is furnished by itself with the clothing necessary for its own use.

"It is a subject no less of curiosity than of interest, to trace the prejudices in favor of foreign fabrics. In our colonial condition, we were in a complete state of dependence on the parent country, as it respected manufactures as well as commerce. For many years after the war, such was the partiality for her productions, in this country, that a gentleman's head could not withstand the influence of solar heat, unless covered with a London hat; his feet could not bear the pebbles, or frost, unless protected by London shoes; and the comfort or ornament of his person was only consulted when his coat was cut by the shears of a tailor 'just from London.' At length, however, the wonderful discovery has been made, that it is not absolutely beyond the reach of American skill and ingenuity, to provide these articles, combining with equal elegance greater durability. And

I entertain no doubt, that, in a short time, the no less important fact will be developed, that the domestic manufactories of the United States, fostered by government, and aided by household exertions, are fully competent to supply us with at least every necessary article of clothing. I therefore, sir, for one (to use the fashionable cant of the day), am in favor of encouraging them, not to the extent to which they are carried in England, but to such an extent as will redeem us entirely from all dependence on foreign countries. There is a pleasure—a pride (if I may be allowed the expression, and I pity those who cannot feel the sentiment),—in being clad in the productions of our own families. Others may prefer the clothes of Leeds and of London, but give me those of Humphreysville.

"Aid may be given to native institutions in the form of bounties and of protecting duties. But against bounties it is urged, that you tax the whole for the benefits of a part only, of the community; and in opposition to duties it is alleged, that you make the interest of one part, the consumer, bend to the interest of another part, the manufacturer. The sufficiency of the answer is not always admitted, that the sacrifice is merely temporary, being ultimately compensated by the greater abundance and superiority of the articles produced by the stimulus. But, of all practicable forms of encouragement, it might have been expected, that the one under consideration would escape opposition, if every thing proposed in congress were not doomed to experience it. What is it? The bill contains two provisions—one prospective, anticipating the appropriation for clothing for the army, and the amendment proposes extending it to naval supplies,

for the year 1811,—and the other, directing a preference to be given to home manufactures, and productions, whenever it can be done without material detriment to the public service. The object of the first is to authorize contracts to be made beforehand, with manufacturers, and by making advances to them, under proper security, to enable them to supply the articles wanted, in sufficient quantity. When it is recollected that they are frequently men of limited capitals, it will be acknowledged that this kind of assistance, bestowed with prudence, will be productive of the best results. It is, in fact, only pursuing a principle long acted on, of advancing to contractors with government on account of the magnitude of their engagements. The appropriation contemplated to be made for the year 1811, may be restricted to such a sum as, whether we have peace or war, we must necessarily expend. The discretion is proposed to be vested in officers of high confidence, who will be responsible for its abuse, and who are enjoined to see that the public service receives no material detriment. It is stated, that hemp is now very high, and that contracts, made under existing circumstances, will be injurious to government. But the amendment creates no obligation upon the secretary of the navy, to go into market at this precise moment. In fact, by enlarging his sphere of action, it admits of his taking advantage of a favorable fluctuation, and getting a supply below the accustomed price, if such a fall occur prior to the usual annual appropriation.

"I consider the amendment, under consideration, of the first importance, in point of principle. It is evident, that whatever doubt may be entertained, as to the general policy

of the manufacturing system none can exist, as to the propriety of our being able to furnish ourselves with articles of the first necessity, in time of war. Our maritime operations ought not, in such a state, to depend upon the casualities of foreign supply. It is not necessary that they should. With very little encouragement from government, I believe we shall not want a pound of Russian hemp. The increase of the article in Kentucky has been rapidly great. Ten years ago there were but two manufactories in the state. Now there are about twenty, and between ten and fifteen of cotton-bagging; and the erection of new ones keeps pace with the annual augmentation of the quantity of hemp. Indeed, the western country, alone, is not only adequate to the supply of whatever of this article is requisite for our own consumption, but is capable of affording a surplus for foreign markets. The amendment proposed possesses the double recommendation of encouraging, at the the same time, both the manufacture and the growth of hemp. For by increasing the demand for the wrought article, you also increase the demand for the raw material, and consequently present new incentives to its cultivator.

"The three great subjects that claim the attention of the national legislature, are the interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. We have had before us, a proposition to afford a manly protection to the rights of commerce, and how has it been treated? Rejected! You have been solicited to promote agriculture, by increasing the facilities of internal communication, through canals and roads, and what has been done? Postponed! We are now called upon to give a trifling support to our domestic manufac-

tures, and shall we close the circle of congressional inefficiency by adding this also to the catalogue?"

THE LAST DOCUMENT OF HENRY CLAY.

The following "Memoranda of H. Clay" was written by his son Thomas, from his father's dictation a few days before his death, at the National Hotel in Washington. It is very probably the last document signed by Clay. It does not portray him as the great orator or statesman, or as the great leader of men, but shows the man just as he was in his daily affairs. He was as exact and as watchful of his personal credit as a banker ought to be, and thoughtful of others even in the hour of his extremity.

"I leave with you a check on Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs for any balance standing to my credit in the books of their bank at the time you present the check. The balance now is about $1,600, but it may be diminished before you have occasion to apply for it.

"Mr. Underwood will draw from the secretary of the Senate any balance due to me there for my services, and pay it over to you.

"Out of these funds I wish you to pay Dr. Hall's bill, the apothecary's bill, and Dr. Francis Jackson's bill of Philadelphia.

"Whatever may be necessary to pay those debts, and may be necessary to bear your expenses to Kentucky, had better be appropriated and reserved accordingly, and the balance to be converted in a bank check on New York, which will be safer to carry and more valuable in Kentucky.

"I have settled with James G. Marshall, my servant, and at the end of this month he will have paid me all that I have

advanced him, and I shall owe him two dollars. The deed for his lot in Detroit, which he assigned to me as security for being his indorser on a note in bank, is in my little trunk in your mother's room, in the bundle marked 'Notes and valuable papers.' I wish the deed taken out and delivered to James, as the matter is settled.

"The Messrs. Hunter, who have bought my Illinois land, have been very punctual in paying me the purchase money as it became due heretofore. The last payment of $2,000 is due at Christmas. They have written to me that they will come over to pay it, and at the same time receive a pair of Durham calves as a present which I promised them. I wish that promise fulfilled. The heifer I bought of Mr. Hunt, being a descendant of the imported Lucretia, I designed for one of the animals to be presented.

"There is a note of upwards of $1,000 among my papers in the pocket book, well secured and payable in New Orleans next November. My executors ought to send it down there for collection. H. CLAY."

THE DIGNITY OF OUR NATIONHOOD AS EXPRESSED BY CLAY ON HIS RETURN FROM GHENT.

Lexington, Ky., Oct. 7, 1815.

At a public dinner given by his fellow-citizens of Lexington upon Clay's return from Ghent, where negotiations of peace had been made, he delivered the following short address in response to the toast:

"Our able negotiators at Ghent. Their talents for diplomacy have kept pace with the valor of our arms, in 'demonstrating' to the enemy that these states will be free."

In it he summarizes the results of the war; he refers to the proud and dignified attitude assumed and maintained by our commissioners, and predicts a bright future for our country under the banner of peace.

"I feel myself called on, by the sentiment just expressed, to return my thanks, in behalf of my colleagues and myself. I do not, and am quite sure they do not, feel that, in the service alluded to, they are at all entitled to the compliment

which has been paid them. We could not do otherwise than reject the demand made by the other party; and if our labors terminated in an honorable peace, it was owing to causes on this side of the Atlantic, and not to any exertion of ours. Whatever diversity of opinion may have existed as to the declaration of the war, there are some points on which all may look back with proud satisfaction. The first relates to the time of the conclusion of peace. Had it been made immediately after the treaty at Paris, we should have retired humiliated from the contest, believing that we had escaped the severe chastisement with which we were threatened, and that we owed to the generosity and magnanimity of the enemy what we were incapable of commanding by our arms. That magnanimity would have been the theme of every tongue, and of every press, abroad and at home. We should have retired unconscious of our own strength, and unconscious of the utter inability of the enemy, with his whole undivided force, to make any serious impression upon us. Our military character, then in the lowest state of degradation, would have been unretrieved. Fortunately for us, Great Britain chose to try the issue of the last campaign. And the issue of the last campaign has demonstrated, in the repulse before Baltimore, the retreat from Plattsburg, the hard fought action on the Niagara frontier, and in that most glorious day, the eighth of January, that we have always possessed the finest elements of military composition, and that a proper use of them only was necessary to insure for the army and militia a fame as imperishable as that which the navy had previously acquired.

"Another point which appears to me to afford the highest consolation is, that we fought the most powerful nation, perhaps, in existence, single-handed and alone, without any sort of alliance. More than thirty years has Great Britain been maturing her physical means, which she has rendered as efficacious as possible, by skill, by discipline, and by actual service. Proudly boasting of the conquest of Europe, she vainly flattered herself with the easy conquest of America also. Her veterans were put to flight or defeated, while all Europe—I

mean the governments of Europe—was gazing with cold indifference, or sentiments of positive hatred of us, upon the arduous contest. Hereafter no monarch can assert claims of gratitude upon us for assistance in the hour of danger.

"There is another view of which the subject of the war is fairly susceptible. From the moment that Great Britain came forward at Ghent with her extravagant demands, the war totally changed its character. It became, as it were, a new war. It was no longer an American war, prosecuted for redress of British aggressions upon American rights, but became a British war, prosecuted for objects of British ambition to be accompanied by American sacrifices. And what were those demands? Here, in the immediate neighborhood of a sister state and territories, which were to be made in part the victims, they must have been felt, and their enormity justly appreciated. They consisted of the erection of a barrier between Canada and the United States, to be formed by cutting off from Ohio and some of the territories a country more extensive than Great Britain, containing thousands of freemen, who were to be abandoned to their fate, and creating a new power, totally unknown upon the continent of America; of the dismantling of our fortresses, and naval power on the lakes, with the surrender of the military occupation of those waters to the enemy, and of the arrondissement for two British provinces. These demands, boldly asserted, and one of them declared to be a *sine qua non*, were finally relinquished. Taking this view of the subject, if there be loss of reputation by either party, in the terms of peace who has sustained it?

"The effects of the war are highly satisfactory. Abroad, our character, which at the time of its declaration was in the lowest state of degradation, is raised to the highest point of elevation. It is impossible for any American to visit Europe without being sensible of this agreeable change, in the personal attentions which he receives, in the praises which are bestowed on our past exertions, and the predictions which are made as to our future prospects. At home, a government which, at its formation, was apprehended by its best

friends, and pronounced by its enemies to be incapable of standing the shock, is found to answer all the purposes of its institution. In spite of the errors which have been committed (and errors have undoubtedly been committed), aided by the spirit and patriotism of the people, it is demonstrated to be as competent to the objects of effective war, as it has been before proved to be to the concerns of a season of peace. Government has thus acquired strength and confidence. Our prospects for the future are of the brightest kind. With every reason to count on the permanence of peace, it remains only for the government to determine upon military and naval establishments adapted to the growth and extension of our country and its rising importance, keeping in view a gradual but not burdensome increase of the navy; to provide for the payment of the interest, and the redemption of the public debt, and for the current expenses of government. For all these objects, the existing sources of the revenue promise not only to be abundantly sufficient, but will probably leave ample scope to the exercise of the judgment of congress, in selecting for repeal, modification, or abolition, those which may be found most oppressive, inconvenient, or unproductive."

At the conclusion of the speech, the assembly arose to the toast: "Our guest HENRY CLAY. We welcome his return to that country whose rights and interests he has so ably maintained at home and abroad."

CLAY'S CAREFULNESS AS A MAN OF AFFAIRS.

In connection with this speech in which Clay summarizes the effects of the peace treaty, it is interesting to read the following letter to his wife, written just before his return from Europe. It has the additional interest of showing how careful a man of affairs Clay was, how thoughtful of the smallest details:

"LIVERPOOL, July 14, 1815.

"MY DEAR WIFE: I expect to embark to-morrow on board the Lorenzo, of this port, for New York, and hope to have the pleasure of seing you before this letter reaches

you. As it is possible, however, that I may not, to guard against any accidents which may attend me, I inclose a copy of a power of Attorney (accompanied by a copy of the original certificate) to transfer to me $4,444.44, in the 6 per cent stock of the United States. The original of these copies is in my possession.

"Messrs. Baring, Brothers and Co., bankers, London, have in their hands £201 os. 9d. sterling of my money.

"On the other side is a memorandum of charges against the United States, which are to be brought forward on settlement of my account, besides my outfit and salary.

Dr. the United States to H. Clay.

To the sum lost by me in the rent of a house from Mr. Pritz, of Gottenburg, for one quarter, and which I occupied only one month: there remaining two months: Mr. Pritz agreed to be satisfied with rent for one of them (see Mr. Carroll) at $200 per month.....$200

To expenses of my journey from Gottenburg to Ghent in consequence of the removal of the seat of negotiation 500

To newspapers for one quarter, at Gottenburg, (see Mr. Hall's account) £5

To newspapers at London..... 5

To stationery at Gottenburg and London..... $25

CLAY'S LONG BUT CLEAR SENTENCES.

One of the most striking characteristics of the language of Clay is the number of quite lengthy sentences, which, however, are always graceful, never awkward, and through which the thought runs perfectly clear. One of the best examples of this is found in a letter of acceptance which he sent to the citizens of Lewisburg, Virginia, in 1826, when invited by them to attend a dinner in his honor on his way to Washington. It is as follows:

"White Sulphur Springs, 24 August, 1826.

"Gentlemen: I have received the note which you did me the honor on yesterday to address to me, inviting me in behalf of a respectable number of citizens of Lewisburg and its

vicinity, to a public dinner at Mr. Frazer's tavern, on Wednesday next, which they have the goodness to propose, in consequence of my arrival amongst them, as a manifestation of their respect. Such a compliment was the most unexpected by me on a journey to Washington, by this route, recommended to my choice by the pure air of a mountain region, and the justly famed mineral waters, a short use of which I hoped might contribute to the perfect reëstablishment of my health. The gratification which I derive from this demonstration of kindness and confidence, springs, in no small degree, from the consideration that it is the spontaneous testimony of those with whom I share a common origin, in a venerated state, endeared to me by an early tie of respect and affection, which no circumstance can ever dissolve. In communicating to that portion of the citizens of Lewisburg and its vicinity, who have been pleased thus to favor me, by their distinguished notice, my acceptance of their hospitable invitation, I pray you to add my profound acknowledgments. And of the friendly and flattering manner in which you have conveyed it, and for the generous sympathy, characteristic of Virginia, which you are so obliging as to express, on account of the detractions of which I have been the selected object, and the meditated victim, be assured that I shall always retain a lively and grateful remembrance.

"I am, gentlemen, with great esteem and regard, faithfully, your obedient servant, HENRY CLAY."

CLAY'S QUIET HUMOR, AS SHOWN BY SELECTIONS FROM HIS SPEECH ON HIS RETIREMENT TO PRIVATE LIFE.

Lexington, Ky., June 9, 1842.

The quaint humor of Clay is well brought out in the following extract from the address delivered by him at Lexington on his retirement from public service (it proved to be but a temporary retirement, for at what appeared to be the call of duty the aged statesman later on again entered the halls of congress). His fellow-citizens had prepared a festival in his honor, and he delivered an address in which he

took a retrospect of his long career as a public man, and sketched the most important events which had affected the condition of the country, and concluded with an exhortation to his political friends to continue their efforts to promote the best interests of their country. The presiding officer offered the following sentiment in offering Clay the opportunity to speak to the great crowd that had gathered to do him honor:

"Henry Clay—farmer of Ashland, patriot, and philanthropist—the American statesman, and unrivalled orator of the age—illustrious abroad, beloved at home: in a long career of eminent public service, often, like Aristides, he breasted the raging storm of passion and delusion, and by offering himself a sacrifice, saved the republic; and now, like Cincinnatus and Washington, having voluntarily retired to the tranquil walks of private life, the grateful hearts of his countrymen will do him ample justice; but come what may, Kentucky will stand by him, and still continue to cherish and defend, as her own, the fame of a son who has emblazoned her escutcheon with immortal renown."

When the prolonged cheering which followed this appreciative introduction had subsided, Clay spoke at great length, using the following introductory remarks, in which are exhibited the touches of quiet humor:

"Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It was given to our countryman, Franklin, to bring down the lightning from heaven. To enable me to be heard by this immense multitude I should have to invoke to my aid, and to throw into my voice, its loudest thunders. As I cannot do that, I hope I shall be excused for such a use of my lungs as is practicable, and not inconsistent with the preservation of my health. And I feel that it is our first duty to express our obligations to a kind and bountiful Providence for the copious and genial showers with which he has just blessed our land—a refreshment of which it stood much in need. For one, I offer to him my humble and dutiful thanks. The inconvenience to us, on this festive occasion, is very slight,

while the sum of good which those timely rains will produce is very great and encouraging.

Fellow-citizens, I find myself now in a situation somewhat like one in which I was placed a few years ago, when traveling through the state of Indiana, from which my friend (Mr. Rariden) near me comes. I stopped at a village containing four or five hundred inhabitants, and I had scarcely alighted before I found myself surrounded in the bar-room by every adult male resident of the place. After a while I observed a group consulting together in one corner of the room, and shortly after, I was diffidently approached by one of them, a tall, lank, lean, but sedate and sober looking person, with a long face and high cheek bones, who, addressing me, said he was commissioned by his neighbors to request that I would say a few words to them. 'Why, my good friend,' said I, 'I should be very happy to do anything gratifying to yourself and your neighbors, but I am very much fatigued, and hungry, and thirsty, and I do not think the occasion is exactly suitable for a speech, and I wish you would excuse me to your friends.' 'Well,' says he, 'Mr. Clay, I confess I thought so myself, especially as we have no wine to offer you to drink.'

"Now, if the worthy citizen of Indiana was right in supposing that a glass of wine was a necessary preliminary, and a precedent condition to the delivery of a speech, you have no just right to expect one from me at this time; for, during the sumptuous repast from which we have just risen, you offered me nothing to drink but cold water—excellent water, it is true, from the classic fountain of our lamented friend Mr. Maxwell, which has so often regaled us on celebrations of our great anniversary.

"I protest against any inference of my being inimical to the temperance cause. On the contrary, I think it an admirable cause, that has done great good, and will continue to do good as long as legal coercion is not employed, and it rests exclusively upon persuasion, and its own intrinsic merits.

"I have a great and growing repugnance to speaking in the open air to a large assemblage. But whilst the faculty of

speech remains to me, I can never feel that repugnance, never feel other than grateful sensations, in making my acknowledgments under such circumstances as those which have brought us together. Not that I am so presumptuous as to believe that I have been the occasion solely of collecting this vast multitude. Among the inducements, I cannot help thinking that the fat white virgin Durham heifer of my friend, Mr. Berryman, that cost six hundred dollars, which has been just served up, and the other good things which have been so liberally spread before us, exerted some influence in swelling this unprecedentedly large meeting."

DEVOTION OF THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY TO HENRY CLAY.

A few days after his return home in 1850 another public celebration was given in his honor at the fair grounds, at which he was expected to address his constituents; and again the farmers of that vicinity were blessed with the copious showers so much appreciated by Clay in the opening part of the speech just quoted. In spite of the sudden and heavy downpour of rain, the people stood waiting on the grounds "as thick as the pegs on a shoemaker's board." As the orator appeared a great cheer rent the air. Mounting the stand, he began his address under the shelter of an umbrella in the hands of Governor Metcalfe, who stood with uncovered head, his long white hair floating in the breeze. After speaking about fifteen minutes, Clay said, "Fellow-citizens, I cannot tax your patience further." But urged by the cries of the crowd to "Go on! Go on!" he in a moment resumed, saying: "I thank you, my friends. If you can stand it,"—the rain was still driving hard,—"God knows that I can"; and continuing he spoke nearly an hour more. During this time the storm had ceased and the barbecue progressed with no further interruption. The intensity of this picture is deepened when we recall that the one who has preserved it for us, and who stood in the rain and listened that day, was a college student of seventeen who had driven thirty-five miles the night before in order to see and hear once more the great American.

In Clay we find combined the patriotism which he took from Virginia, the enthusiasm which was his birthright, together with his fine feeling, and not a little of the reckless daring of the backwoodsman of Kentucky—the whole producing a man of tremendous energy, sterling character and heroic mould.

His impetuosity and emotional quality was one of the chief causes of Clay's success as a leader and of the devotion of his followers. His political adherents not only admired him, they loved him. On his defeat in the presidential campaign of 1844, the Whigs not only in Kentucky and throughout the South, but all over the Union, grieved as though personally bereaved. The story is told of a bride of the night of November 7, 1844, at whose wedding the President-elect, as they supposed, was present, who records the consternation when the returns from the polls began to arrive. "She and her husband, on their way to Washington for their wedding journey, waited in Louisville for definite information, and, when it came, abandoned their Eastern tour, and took boat for New Orleans instead. Their boat carried the news down the Mississippi, and at every landing the shore was black with people. As they proceeded, they left distress and blank dismay behind them, and at New Orleans the expression of grief was appalling. The husband of the lady who describes this trip fell ill on the way, and at New Orleans a physician was summoned to attend him. He inquired of his patient if he had recently suffered any great shock. The patient having mentioned Mr. Clay's defeat, the physician, who was also a Clay man, embraced him, and they wept together."

CLAY'S EFFECTIVE REPARTEE.

Reply to John Randolph in the House of Representatives, 1824.

The following was delivered in the course of a debate on an improvement bill during the session of 1823-24, in which Clay encountered John Randolph of Virginia, who had endeavored to provoke him to reply by *running at* Clay on account of his peculiar situation in being named for the presi-

dency while still speaker of the House. It is a very fine specimen of tempered yet effective repartee seasoned with a pinch of sarcasm:

"Sir, I am growing old. I have had some little measure of experience in public life, and the result of that experience has brought me to this conclusion, that when business, of whatever nature, is to be transacted in a deliberative assembly, or in private life, courtesy, forbearance, and moderation are best calculated to bring it to a successful conclusion. Sir, my age admonishes me to abstain from involving myself in personal difficulties; would to God that I could say, I am also restrained by higher motives. I certainly never sought any collision with the gentleman from Virginia. My situation at this time is peculiar, if it be nothing else, and might, I should think, dissuade, at least, a generous heart from any wish to draw me into circumstances of personal altercation. I have experienced this magnanimity from some quarters of the house. But I regret, that from others it appears to have no such consideration. The gentleman from Virginia was pleased to say, that in one point at least he coincided with me—in an humble estimate of my grammatical and philological acquirements. I know my deficiencies. I was born to no proud patrimonial estate; from my father I inherited only infancy, ignorance, and indigence. I feel my defects, but, so far as my situation in early life is concerned, I may, without presumption, say they are more my misfortune than my fault. *But however I regret my want of ability to furnish to the gentleman a better specimen of powers of verbal criticism, I will venture to say, it is not greater than the disappointment of this committee as to the strength of his argument.*"

ON SLAVERY AND ABOLITION.

Richmond, Indiana, Oct. 1, 1842.

Hardly any other of Clay's many speeches is quite as good an example of the complete routing of his opponents as the following, delivered under circumstances which would have tried the proverbial saint. During his visit to the state of

Indiana, the occasion of his meeting a large number of people was seized upon by his enemies for the purpose of presenting him a petition signed by many of his political opponents praying him to emancipate his slaves in Kentucky. It was an extremely discourteous thing to do, to say the least, and yet Clay replied with perfect good humor to Mr. Mendenhall, who had been selected to present the petition, and came off a complete master of the situation, which had been calculated by his enemies to arouse his ire:

"I hope that Mr. Mendenhall may be treated with the greatest forbearance and respect. I assure my fellow-citizens here collected, that the presentation of the petition has not occasioned the slightest pain, nor excited one solitary disagreeable emotion. If it were to be presented to me, I prefer that it should be done in the face of this vast assemblage. I think I can give it such an answer as becomes me and the subject of which it treats. At all events, I entreat and beseech my fellow-citizens, for their sake, for my country's sake, for my sake, to offer no disrespect, no indignity, no violence, in word or deed, to Mr. Mendenhall.

"I will now, sir, make to you and to this petition such a response as becomes me. Allow me to say that I think you have not conformed to the independent character of an American citizen in presenting a *petition* to *me*. I am, like yourself, but a private citizen. A petition, as the term implies, generally proceeds from an inferior in power or station to a superior; but between us there is entire equality. And what are the circumstances under which you have chosen to offer it? I am a total stranger, passing through your state, on my way to its capital, in consequence of an invitation with which I have been honored to visit it, to exchange friendly salutations with such of my fellow-citizens of Indiana as think proper to meet me, and to accept of the hospitality. Anxious as I am to see them and to view parts of this state which I had never seen, I came here with hesitation and reluctance, because I apprehended that the motives of my journey might be misconceived and perverted. But when the fulfilment of an old promise to visit Indianapolis was insisted upon, I

yielded to the solicitations of friends, and have presented myself among you.

"Such is the occasion which has been deliberately selected for tendering this petition to me. I am advanced in years, and neither myself nor the place of my residence is altogether unknown to the world. You might at any time within these last twenty-five or thirty years, have presented your petition to me at Ashland. If you had gone there for that purpose, you should have been received and treated with perfect respect and liberal hospitality.

"Now, Mr. Mendenhall, let us reverse conditions, and suppose that you had been invited to Kentucky to partake of its hospitality; and that previous to your arrival, I had employed such means as I understand have been used to get up this petition, to obtain the signatures of citizens of that state to a petition to present to you to relinquish your farm or other property, what would you have thought of such proceeding? Would you have deemed it courteous and according to the rites of hospitality?

"I know well, that you and those who think with you, controvert the legitimacy of slavery, and deny the right of property in slaves. But the law of my state and other states has otherwise ordained. The law may be wrong in your opinion, and ought to be repealed; but then, you and your associates are not the law-makers for us; and unless you can show some authority to nullify our laws, we must continue to respect them. Until the law is repealed, we must be excused for asserting the rights—ay, the property in slaves—which it sanctions, authorizes, and vindicates.

"And who are the petitioners whose organ you assume to be? I have no doubt that many of them are worthy, amiable, and humane persons, who, by erroneous representations, have been induced inconsiderately to affix their signatures to this petition, and that they will deeply regret it. Others, and not a few, I am told, are free blacks, men, women, and children, who have been artfully deceived and imposed upon. A very large portion, I have been credibly informed, are the political opponents of the party to which I belong—demo-

crats, as they most undeservedly call themselves, who have eagerly seized this opportunity to wound, as they imagine, my feelings, and to aid the cause to which they are attached. In other quarters of the union democrats claim to be the exclusive champions of southern interests, the only safe defenders of the rights in slave property, and unjustly accuse us Whigs with abolition designs wholly incompatible with its security. What ought those distant democrats to think of the course of their friends here, who have united in *this* petition?

"And what is the foundation of this appeal to me in Indiana, to liberate the slaves under my care, in Kentucky? It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that all men are created equal. Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration; and it is desirable, in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle. But, then, I apprehend that in no society that ever existed, or ever shall be formed, was or can the equality asserted among the members of the human race be practically enforced and carried out. There are portions of it, large portions, women, minors, insane, culprits, transient sojourners, that will always probably remain subject to the government of another portion of the community.

"That declaration, whatever may be the extent of its import, was made by the delegations of the thirteen states. In most of them slavery existed, and had long existed, and was established by law. It was introduced and forced upon the colonies by the paramount law of England. Do you believe that, in making that declaration, the states that concurred in it intended that it should be tortured into a virtual emancipation of all the slaves within their respective limits? Would Virginia and the other southern states have ever united in a declaration which was to be interpreted into an abolition of slavery among them? Did any one of the thirteen states entertain such a design or expectation? To impute such a secret and unavowed purpose would be to charge a political

fraud upon the noblest band of patriots that ever assembled in council; a fraud upon the confederacy of the revolution; a fraud upon the union of those states, whose constitution not only recognized the lawfulness of slavery, but permitted the importation of slaves from Africa, until the year 1808. And I am bold to say that, if the doctrines of ultra political abolitionists had been seriously promulgated at the epoch of our revolution, our glorious independence would never have been achieved—never, never.

"I know the predominant sentiment in the free states is adverse to slavery; but, happy in their own exemption from whatever evils may attend it, the great mass of our fellow-citizens there do not seek to violate the constitution, or to disturb the harmony of these states. I desire no concealment of my opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. I look upon it as a great evil, and deeply regret that we have derived it from the parental government, and from our ancestors. I wish every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors. But here they are, and the question is how they can be best dealt with? If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundations of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I should be, to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements. But there is an incalculable difference between the original formation of society and a long existing organized society, with its ancient laws, institutions and establishments. Now, great as I acknowledge, in my opinion, the evils of slavery are, they are nothing, absolutely nothing, in comparison with the far greater evils which would inevitably flow from a sudden, general, and indiscriminate emancipation. In some of the states the number of slaves approximates towards an equality with that of the whites; in one or two they surpass them. What would be the condition of the two races in those states, upon the supposition of an immediate emancipation? Does any man suppose that they would become blended into one homogenous mass? Does any man recommend amalgamation—that revolting admixture, alike offensive to God and man? for those whom He, by their physical properties, has

made unlike and put asunder, we may, without presumptuousness, suppose were never intended to be joined together in one of the holiest rites. And let me tell you, sir, if you do not already know it, that such are the feelings—prejudice, if you please (and what man, claiming to be a statesman, will overlook or disregard the deep-seated and unconquerable prejudices of the people)—in the slave states, that no human law would enforce a union between the two races.

"What then would certainly happen? A struggle for political ascendancy; the blacks seeking to acquire, and the whites to maintain possession of the government. Upon the supposition of a general immediate emancipation in those states where blacks outnumber the whites, they would have nothing to do but to insist upon another part of the same declaration of independence, as Dorr and his deluded democratic followers recently did in Rhode Island; according to which, an undefined majority have the right, at their pleasure, to subvert an existing government, and institute a new one in its place, and then the whites would be brought in complete subjection to the blacks. A contest would inevitably ensue between the two races—civil war, carnage, pillage, conflagration, devastation, and the ultimate extermination or expulsion of the blacks. Nothing is more certain. And are not these evils far greater than the mild and continually improving state of slavery which exists in this country? I say continually improving; for if this gratifying progress in the amelioration of the condition of the slaves has been checked in some of the states, the responsibility must attach to the unfortunate agitation of the subject of abolition. In consequence of it, increased rigor in the police, and further restraints have been imposed; and I do believe that gradual emancipation (the only method of liberation that has ever been thought safe and wise by anybody in any one of the slave states) has been postponed half a century.

"Without any knowledge of the relation in which I stand to my slaves, or their individual condition, you, Mr. Mendenhall and your associates, who have been active in getting up this petition, call upon me forthwith to liberate the whole of

them. Now let me tell you, that some half a dozen of them, from age, decrepitude, or infirmity, are wholly unable to gain a livelihood for themselves, and are a heavy charge upon me. Do you think that I should conform to the dictates of humanity by ridding myself of that charge, and sending them forth into the world, with the boon of liberty, to end a wretched existence in starvation? Another class is composed of helpless infants, with or without improvident mothers. Do you believe, as a Christian, that I should perform my duty towards them by abandoning them to their fate? Then there is another class who would not accept their freedom if I would give it to them. I have for many years owned a slave that I wished would leave me, but he will not. What shall I do with that class?

"What my treatment of my slaves is you may learn from Charles, who accompanies me on this journey, and who has traveled with me over the greater part of the United States, and in both the Canadas, and has had a thousand opportunities, if he had chosen to embrace them, to leave me. Excuse me, Mr. Mendenhall, for saying that my slaves are as well fed and clad, look as sleek and hearty, and are quite as civil and respectful in their demeanor, and as little disposed to wound the feelings of any one, as you are.

"Let me commend you, sir, to imitate the benevolent example of the Society of Friends, in the midst of which you reside. Meek, gentle, imbued with the genuine spirit of our benign religion, while in principle they are firmly opposed to slavery, they do not seek to accomplish its extinction by foul epithets, coarse and vulgar abuse, and gross calumny. Their ways do not lead through blood, revolution, and disunion. Their broad and comprehensive philanthropy embraces, as they believe, the good and the happiness of the white as well as the black race; giving to one their commiseration, to the other their kindest sympathy. Their instruments are not those of detraction and of war, but of peace, persuasion, and earnest appeals to the charities of the human heart. Unambitious, they have no political object or purposes to subserve. My intercourse with them throughout life has been consid-

erable, interesting, and agreeable; and I venture to say, nothing could have induced them as a society, whatever a few individuals might have been tempted to do, to seize the occasion of my casual passage through this state to offer me a personal indignity.

"I respect the motives of rational abolitionists, who are actuated by a sentitment of devotion to human liberty, although I deplore and deprecate the consequences of the agitation of the question. I have even many friends among them. But they are not monomaniacs, who, surrendering themselves to a single idea, look altogether to the black side of human life. They do not believe that the sum total of all our efforts and all our solicitude should be abolition. They believe that there are duties to perform towards the white man as well as the black. They want good government, good administration, and the general prosperity of their country.

"I shall, Mr. Mendenhall, take your petition into respectful and deliberate consideration; but before I come to a final decision I should like to know what you and your associates are willing to do for the sake of the slaves in my possession, if I should think proper to liberate them. I own about fifty, who are probably worth fifteen thousand dollars. To turn them loose upon society without any means of subsistence or support would be an act of cruelty. Are you willing to raise and secure the payment of fifteen thousand dollars for their benefit, if I should be induced to free them? The security of the payment of that sum would materially lessen the obstacle in the way of their emancipation.

"And now, Mr. Mendenhall, I must take respectful leave of you. We separate, as we have met, with no unkind feelings, no excited anger or dissatisfaction on my part, whatever may have been your motives, and these I refer to our common Judge above, to whom we are both responsible. Go home, and mind your own business, and leave other people to take care of theirs. Limit your benevolent exertions to your own neighborhood. Within that circle you will find ample scope for the exercise of all your charities. Dry up

the tears of the afflicted widows around you, console and comfort the helpless orphan, clothe the naked, and feed and help the poor, black and white, who need succor; and you will be a better and a wiser man than you have this day shown yourself."

CLAY'S DEFENCE OF THE PURITY OF HIS POLITICAL MOTIVES.

That mill-stone on the neck of Clay's political personality, the alleged bargain between him and Mr. Adams, was indeed cut loose, though not in time to save him from its disadvantages. The attempt at bargain, if there was any bargain at all, was on the other side, and failing to make the desired arrangement, the best way to ward off an accusation to which they themselves were liable, was thought and found really to be, to bring one of the same kind against Clay. Clay would not believe that such an attack could accomplish its purpose. But it did. Several times he received proposals of such a bargain, some of which are revealed in his correspondence, and are reproduced here. The lofty manliness and indignation with which he treated them is also shown.

The following extract from the lengthy speech which he delivered to his constituents at Lexington, upon his retirement from public service in 1842, is interesting not only as a vindication of his political integrity, but also as giving in his own words an outline of his career as one of the greatest statesmen this country has ever seen. It is the same speech from which the introductory remarks were quoted above to show his quaint sense of humor:

"I will take this occasion to say that I am, and have been long satisfied, that it would have been wiser and more politic in me to have declined accepting the office of secretary of state in 1825. Not that my motives were not as pure and as patriotic as ever carried any man into public office. Not that the calumny which was applied to the fact was not as gross and as unfounded as any that was ever propagated. (Here somebody cried out that Mr. Carter Beverly, who had been made the organ of announcing it, had recently borne testimony to its being unfounded. Mr. Clay said it was true that

he had voluntarily borne such testimony. But with great earnestness, Mr. Clay said, I want no testimony—here, here, here, HERE, repeatedly touching his heart, amidst tremendous cheers, here is the best of all witnesses of my innocence.) Not that valued friends, and highly esteemed opponents, did not unite in urging my acceptance of the office. Not that the administration of Mr. Adams will not, I sincerely believe, advantagiously compare with any of his predecessors, in economy, purity, prudence, and wisdom. Not that Mr. Adams was himself wanting in any of those high qualifications and upright and patriotic intentions which were suited to the office. Of that extraordinary man, of rare and varied attainments, whatever diversity of opinion may exist as to his recent course in the house of representatives, (and candor obliges me to say that there are some things in it which I deeply regret), it is with no less truth than pleasure, I declare that, during the whole period of his administration, annoyed, assailed, and assaulted, as it was, no man could have shown a more devoted attachment to the union, and all its great interests, a more ardent desire faithfully to discharge his whole duty, or brought to his aid more useful experience and knowledge, than he did. I never transacted business with any man, in my life, with more ease, satisfaction, and advantage, than I did with that most able and indefatigable gentleman, as president of the United States. And I will add, that more harmony never prevailed in any cabinet than in his.

"But my error in accepting the office arose out of my underrating the power of detraction and the force of ignorance, and abiding with too sure a confidence in the conscious integrity and uprightness of my own motives. Of that ignorance, I had a remarkable and laughable example on an occasion which I will relate. I was traveling in 1828, through I believe it was Spottsylvania county, in Virginia, on my return to Washington, in company with some young friends. We halted at night at a tavern, kept by an aged gentleman, who, I quickly perceived, from the disorder and confusion which reigned, had not the happiness to have a wife. After a hurried and bad supper, the old gentleman sat down by me, and

without hearing my name, but understanding that I was from Kentucky, remarked that he had four sons in that state, and that he was very sorry they were divided in politics, two being for Adams and two for Jackson; he wished they were all for Jackson. Why? I asked him. Because, he said, that fellow Clay, and Adams, had cheated Jackson out of the presidency. Have you ever seen any evidence, my old friend, said I, of that? No, he replied, none, and he wanted to see none. But, I observed, looking him directly and steadily in the face, suppose Mr. Clay were to come here and assure you, upon his honor, that it was all a vile calumny, and not a word of truth in it, would you believe him? No, replied the old gentleman, promptly and emphatically. I said to him, in conclusion, will you be good enough to show me to bed, and bade him good night. The next morninig, having in the interval learned my name, he came to me full of apologies; but I at once put him at his ease by assuring him that I did not feel in the slightest degree hurt or offended by him.

"Mr. President, I have been accused of ambition, often accused of ambition. I believe, however, that my accusers will be generally found to be political opponents, or the friends of aspirants in whose way I was supposed to stand; and it was thought, therefore, necessary to shove me aside. I defy my enemies to point out any act or instance of my life, in which I have sought the attainment of office by dishonorable or unworthy means. Did I display inordinate ambition when, under the administration of Mr. Madison, I declined a foreign mission of the first grade, and an executive department, both of which he successively kindly tendered me? When, under that of his successor, Mr. Monroe, I was first importuned, (as no one knows better than that sterling old patriot, Jonathan Roberts, now threatened, as the papers tell us, with expulsion from an office which was never filled with more honesty and uprightness, because he declines to be a servile instrument,) to accept a secretaryship, and was afterwards offered a *carte blanche* of all the foreign missions? At the epoch of the election of 1825, I believe no one doubted at Washington that, if I had felt it my duty to vote for General

Jackson, he would have invited me to take charge of a department. And such undoubtedly Mr. Crawford would have done if he had been elected. When the Harrisburg convention assembled, the general expectation was that the nomination would be given to me. It was given to the lamented Harrison. Did I exhibit extraordinary ambition when, cheerfully acquiescing, I threw myself into the canvass and made every exertion in my power to insure it success? Was it evidence of unchastened ambition in me to resign, as I recently did, my seat in the senate—to resign the dictatorship, with which my enemies have so kindly invested me, and come home to the quiet walks of private life?

"But I am ambitious because some of my countrymen have seen fit to associate my name with the succession for the presidential office. Do those who prefer the charge know what I have done, or not done, in connection with that object? Have they given themselves the trouble to inquire at all into any agency of mine in respect to it? I believe not. It is a subject which I approach with all the delicacy which belongs to it, and with due regard to the dignity of the exalted station; but on which I shall, at the same time, speak to you, my friends and neighbors, without reserve, and with the utmost candor.

"I have prompted none of those movements among the people, of which we have seen accounts. As far as I am concerned, they are altogether spontaneous, and not only without concert with me, but most generally without any sort of previous knowledge on my part. That I am thankful and grateful, profoundly grateful, for these manifestations of confidence and attachment, I will not conceal or deny. But I have been, and mean to remain a passive, if not an indifferent spectator. I have reached a time in life, and seen enough of high official stations, to enable me justly to appreciate their value, their cares, their responsibilities, their ceaseless duties. That estimate of their worth, in a personal point of view, would restrain me from seeking to fill any one, the highest of them, in a scramble of doubtful issue, with political opponents, much less with political friends. That I should feel

greatly honored by a call from a majority of the people of this country, to the highest office within their gift, I shall not deny; nor, if my health were preserved, might I feel at liberty to decline a summons so authoritative and commanding. But I declare most solemnly, that I have not, up to this moment, determined whether I will consent to the use of my name or not as a candidate for the chief magistracy. That is a grave question, which should be decided by all attainable lights, which, I think, is not necessary yet to be decided, and a decision of which I reserve to myself, as far as I can reserve it, until the period arrives when it ought to be solved. That period has not, as I think, yet arrived. When it does, an impartial survey of the whole ground should be taken, the state of public opinion properly considered, and one's personal condition, physical and intellectual, duly examined and weighed. In thus announcing a course of conduct for myself, it is hardly necessary to remark, that it is no part of my purpose to condemn, or express any opinion whatever upon those popular movements which have been made, or may be contemplated, in respect to the next election of a president of the United States.

"If to have served my country during a long series of years with fervent zeal and unshaken fidelity, in seasons of peace and war, at home and abroad, in the legislative halls and in an executive department; if to have labored most sedulously to avert the embarrassment and distress which now overspread this union, and when they came, to have exerted myself anxiously, at the extra session, and at this, to devise healing remedies; if to have desired to introduce economy and reform in the general administration, curtail enormous executive power, and amply provide, at the same time, for the wants of the government and the wants of the people, by a tariff which would give it revenue and then protection; if to have earnestly sought to establish the bright but too rare example of a party in power faithful to its promises and pledges made when out of power; if these services, exertions, and endeavors, justify the accusation of ambition, I must plead guilty to the charge.

"I have wished the good opinion of the world; but I defy the most malignant of my enemies to show that I have attempted to gain it by any low or grovelling arts, by any mean or unworthy sacrifices, by the violation of any of the obligations of honor, or by a breach of any of the duties which I owed to my country."

Letters in which Political Bargains were Proposed to Henry Clay.

PATRICK HENRY TO HENRY CLAY.

August 21, 1822.

DEAR SIR: You must make Clinton President, which, with your force and talents, public and private, you can accomplish. He has pretensions in every respect—a man of business, is bold and honorable, an elegant scholar, deeply read, liberal altogether in his ideas. He would return the favor with fidelity. He has no sneaking, tricky vices. You would be the next President, from character, pretensions, experience, and, coming from the West, you would be expected and attended to by the nation. You would be vice-president or secretary of state. The former would keep you out of turmoil and responsibility, and perhaps be the safest place. You would be happy in it, honored and supported by everybody.

Clinton has name, fame, talents, and useful and lasting honors to sustain him for any or in any station he may fill. It would be worthy of Clay and Kentucky to join New York and Clinton in so glorious a career in saving the Union.

CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, May 23, 1830.

(An extract only.)

* * * I have a most singular letter from Mr. Crawford of which I beg, however, you will speak to no one, as I cannot but think, from the nature of the proposal which it contains, it indicates some want of self-possession. He says, that he perceives from the papers, that Mr. Calhoun, Van

Buren, and myself, will be run for the next Presidency; that his friends also think of bringing him forward; that no one candidate would be electetd; but that, if the contest be limited to the three first, Mr. Van Buren would be finally elected by the House of Representatives; that I should not get a vote in New England, which would support Mr. Van Buren; and that all the South would go for Mr. Calhoun. Therefore, he proposes that I should not be brought forward, but support him, whereby he would get the votes of all the Western States, which, with the aid of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Delaware, New Jersey, and probably Maryland, with some few other states, would secure his election. Then, he says, I would of course, come again into the cabinet, and finally succeed him! He intimates that his friends may make a similar proposal to Mr. Van Buren, but he prefers that I should accede to it. He supposes that General Jackson will not be again a candidate. I have not answered this most extraordinary letter, which bears date the 31st day of March last. I shall not answer it. I would not answer it in terms consistent with the friendship which I once bore to Mr. Crawford.

Referring elsewhere to this same letter of Crawford, Clay remarks: "But after his letter to me of March, in the last year, ought we to be surprised at anything he may do? I have never written to him since I received that letter, nor do I desire any correspondence with him again. I shall not, however, permit the publication of his letter of March. It could only be justified by some public good, and I see none that it would accomplish."

Other letters which might be given exhibit a proposal to make Clay President by a wrong to Webster, on condition that Clay would use his influence for a certain appointment. Though Clay and Webster were not at that time on the most friendly terms, Clay insisted that the proposal and its conditions should be made known to Webster, and it was through no fault of his that this was not done. Another letter indicates further the estimate which Clay made of the whole dishonorable transaction. No attempt on Clay's

honor, as a politician (nor as a private man, for that matter), ever succeeded. He lived and died an American patriot of the loftiest character.

Selections from the Obituary Addresses on the Death of Henry Clay.

Delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives. Arranged and Edited by C. K. Edmunds, Ph. D.

Although in the presence of death emotion and love are apt to outrun sober judgment and cool calculation of other times, we must, after making all due allowance for this element in the following addresses, still see that the man of whom these orators spoke was indeed of such a character, his labors of such a scope, and his achievements of such a brilliancy as sufficiently to warrant the almost extreme expressions of appreciation here reproduced in part from the official records. Of the nine addresses delivered in the Senate on the memorable morning of June 30, 1852, and of the thirteen in the House of Representatives, we shall cite only selected parts of those given by the statesmen from Clay's own state, Kentucky, and that of his nativity, Virginia, with but one additional tribute from New York to show the breadth of the feeling for the lamented hero.

Senator Underwood of Kentucky, after formally announcing the death of his colleague and outlining Clay's public career, said in part: "His physical and mental organization eminently qualified him to become a great and impressive orator. His person was tall, slender, and commanding. His temperament was ardent, fearless, and full of hope. His countenance clear, expressive, and variable—indicating the emotion which predominated at the moment with exact similitude. His voice, cultivated and modulated in harmony with the sentiment he desired to express, fell upon the ear like the melody of enrapturing music. His eye beaming with intelligence and flashing with coruscations of genius. His gestures and attitudes graceful and natural. These personal advantages won the prepossessions of an audience, even before his intellectual powers began to move his hear-

ers; and when his strong common sense, his profound reasoning, his clear conceptions of his subject in all its bearings, and his striking and beautiful illustrations, united with such personal qualities, were brought to the discussion of any question his audience was enraptured, convinced, and led by the orator as if enchanted by the lyre of Orpheus.

"No man was ever blessed by his Creator with faculties of a higher order of excellence than those given to Mr. Clay. In the quickness of his perceptions, and the rapidity with which his conclusions were formed, he had few equals and no superior. He was eminently endowed with a nice, discriminating taste for order, symmetry, and beauty..... While he was so organized that he attended to, and arranged little things to please and gratify his natural love for neatness, order, and beauty, his great intellectual faculties grasped all the subjects of jurisprudence and politics with a facility amounting almost to intuition.....

"Mr. Clay was deeply versed in all the springs of human action. He had read and studied biography and history. Shortly after I left college, I had occasion to call on him in Frankfort, where he was attending court, and well I remember to have found him with Plutach's Lives in his hands. No one better than he knew how to avail himself of human motives, and all the circumstances which surrounded a subject, or could present them with more force and skill to accomplish the object of an argument.

"Mr. Clay, throughout his public career, was influenced by the loftiest patriotism. Confident in the truth of his convictions and the purity of his purposes, he was ardent, sometimes impetuous, in the pursuit of objects which he believed essential to the general welfare. Those who stood in his way were thrown aside without fear or ceremony. He never affected a courtier's deference to men or opinions which he thought hostile to the best interests of his country; and hence he may have wounded the vanity of those who thought themselves of consequence..... "Calumny and detraction emptied their vials upon him. But how glorious the change. He outlived malice and envy. He lived

long enough to prove to the world that his ambition was no more than a holy aspiration to make his country the greatest, most powerful, and best governed on the earth. If he desired its highest office, it was because the greater power and influence resulting from such elevation would enable him to do more than he otherwize could for the progress and advancement—first of his own countrymen, than of his whole race. His sympathies embraced all. The African slave, the Creole of Spanish America, the children of renovated classic Greece—all families of men, without respect to color or clime, found in his exalted bosom and comprehensive intellect a friend of their elevation and amelioration. Such ambition as that, is God's implantation in the human heart for raising the down-trodden nations of the earth, and fitting them for regenerated existence in politics, in morals, and religion.

"Bold and determined as Mr. Clay was in all his actions, he was, nevertheless, conciliating. He did not obstinately adhere to things impracticable. If he could not accomplish the best, he contented himself with the nighest approach to it. He has been the great compromiser of those political agitations and opposing opinions which have, in the belief of thousands, at different times, endangered the perpetuity of our Federal Government and Union.....

"Mr. Clay, from the nature of his disease, declined very gradually. He bore his protracted sufferings with great equanimity and patience. On one occasion, he said to me, that when death was inevitable and must soon come, and when the sufferer was ready to die, he did not perceive the wisdom of praying to be 'delivered from sudden death.' He thought under such circumstances the sooner suffering was relieved by death the better. He desired the termination of his own sufferings, while he acknowledged the duty of patiently waiting and abiding the pleasure of God. Mr. Clay frequently spoke to me of his hope of eternal life, founded upon the merits of Jesus Christ as a Saviour; who, as he remarked, came into the world to bring life and immortality to light. He was a member of the Episcopalian church. In

one of our conversations he told me, that as his hour of dissolution approached, he found that his affections were concentrating more and more upon his domestic circle—his wife and children. In my daily visits, he was in the habit of asking me to detail to him the transactions of the senate. This I did, and he manifested much interest in passing occurrences. His inquiries were less frequent as his end approached. For the week preceding his death, he seemed to be altogether abstracted from the concerns of the world. When he became so low that he could not converse without being fatigued, he frequently requested those around him to converse. He would then quietly listen. He retained his mental faculties in great perfection. His memory remained perfect. He frequently mentioned events and conversations of recent occurrence, showing that he had a perfect recollection of what was said and done. He said to me that he was grateful to God for continuing to him the blessing of reason, which enabled him to contemplate and reflect on his situation.

"Mr. President, the majestic form of Mr. Clay will no more grace these halls. No more shall we hear that voice which has so often thrilled and charmed the assembled representatives of the American people. No more shall we see that waving hand and eye of light, as when he was engaged unfolding his policy in regard to the varied interests of our growing and mighty republican empire. His voice is silent on earth forever. The darkness of death has obscured the lustre of his eye. But the memory of his services—not only to his beloved Kentucky, not only to the United States, but for the cause of human freedom and progress throughout the world—will live through future ages, as a bright example, stimulating and encouraging his own countrymen and the people of all nations in their patriotic devotions to country and humanity.

* * * * * * *

"Mr. President, I have availed myself of Doctor Johnson's paraphrase of the epitaph on Thomas Hanmer, with a few alterations and additions, to express in borrowed verse my

admiration for the life and character of Mr. Clay, and with this heart-tribute to the memory of my illustrious colleague I conclude my remarks:

"Born when Freedom her stripes and stars unfurl'd,
When Revolution shook the startled world—
Heroes and sages taught his brilliant mind
To know and love the rights of all mankind.
In life's first bloom his public toils began,
At once commenced the senator and man:
In business dext'rous, weighty in debate,
Near fifty years he labor'd for the state.
In every speech persuasive wisdom flowed,
In every act refulgent virtue glow'd;
Suspended faction ceased from rage and strife,
To hear his eloquence and praise his life.
Resistless merit fixed the Member's choice,
Who hail'd him Speaker with united voice.
His talents ripening with advancing years—
His wisdom growing with his public cares—
A chosen envoy, war's dark horrors cease,
And tides of carnage turn to streams of peace.
Conflicting principles, internal strife,
Tariff and slavery, disunion rife,
All, all are *compromised* by his great hand,
And beams of joy illuminate the land.
Patriot, Christian, husband, father, friend,
Thy work of life achieved a glorious end."

Senator Hunter of Virginia: "We have heard the voice of Kentucky—and, upon this occasion, she has a right to speak—in mingled accents of pride and sorrow, for it has rarely fallen to the lot of any state to lament the loss of such a son. But Virginia, too, is entitled to her place in this procession; for she cannot be supposed to be unmindful of the tie which bound her to the dead..... This land, sir, is full of the monuments of his genius. His memory is as imperishable as American history itself, for he was one of those who made it. Sir, he belonged to that marked class who are the men of their century; for it was his rare good

fortune not only to have been endowed with the capacity to do great things, but to have enjoyed the opportunities of achieving them. I know, sir, it has been said and deplored, that he wanted some of the advantages of an early education, but it, perhaps, has not been remembered that, in many respects, he enjoyed such opportunities for mental training as can rarely fall to the lot of man. He had not a chance to learn so much from books, but he had such opportunities of learning from men as few have ever enjoyed. Sir, it is to be remembered that he was reared at a time when there was a state of society, in the commonwealth which gave him birth, such as has never been seen there before nor since. It was his early privilege to see how justice was administered by a Pendleton and a Wythe, with the last of whom he was in the daily habit of familiar intercourse. He had constant opportunities to observe how forensic questions were managed by a Marshall and a Wickham. He was old enough, too, to have heard and to have appreciated the eloquence of a Patrick Henry, and of George Keith Taylor. In short, sir, he lived in a society in which the examples of a Jefferson, and a Madison, and a Monroe, were living influences, and on which the setting sun of a Washington cast the mild effulgence of its departing rays.

"He was trained, too,—at a period when the recent revolutionary struggle had given a more elevated tone to patriotism, and imparted a higher cast to public feeling, and to public character. Such lessons were worth, perhaps, more to him than the whole encylopedia of scholastic learning. Not only were the circumstances of his early training favorable to the development of his genius, but the theater upon which he was thrown, was eminently propitious for its exercise. The circumstances of the early settlement of Kentucky, the generous, daring and reckless character of the people—all fitted it to be the theater for the display of those commanding qualities of heart and mind, which he so eminently possessed. There can be little doubt but that those people and their chosen leader exercised a mutual influence upon each other; and no one can be surprised that, with his

brave spirit, and commanding eloquence, and fascinating address, he should have led not only there, but elsewhere."

The following extract from the speech of Senator Brooke is of peculiar interest in that it preserves for us the famous remark of Clay when pressed to refrain from some measure that would mar his popularity. These lofty words were the clue to his whole character—the secret of his hold on the heads as well as on the hearts of the American people.

"It will be doing no injustice, sir, to the living or the dead to say, that no better specimen of the true American character can be found in our history than that of Mr. Clay. With no adventitious advantages of birth or fortune, he won his way by the efforts of his own genius to the highest distinction and honor. Ardently attached to the principles of civil and religious liberty, patriotism was with him both a passion and a sentiment—a passion that gave energy to his ambition, and a sentiment that pervaded all his thoughts and actions, concentrating them upon his country as the idol of his heart. The bold and manly frankness in the expression of his opinions which always characterized him, has often been the subject of remark; and in all his victories it may be truly said he never 'stooped to conquer.' In his long and brilliant political career, personal considerations never for a single instant caused him to swerve from the strict line of duty, and none have ever doubted his deep sincerity in that memorable expression to Mr. Preston, 'Sir, I had rather be right than be President'."

It is said that the late Speaker Reed, when some congressman of little weight attempted in debate to make use of this famous reply of Clay, admonished the member in the words, "You need have no fear; you will never be either." Reed's estimate of the representative referred to differs from Senator Brooke's appreciation of Clay in precisely the same proportion in which most statesmen of to-day differ from Henry Clay.

In the House of Representatives, after the receipt of the news of Clay's death and of the proceedings of the senate thereon, Mr. Breckinridge addressed the house somewhat at

length on the character and services of the departed senator. Much of what he said, as with many others of these obituary addresses, is a repetition of what has in essence already been given; and so we shall quote only such sections of this and of the other speeches as will present different phases of the work or character of our hero. Mr. Breckinridge said in part: "But the supremacy of Mr. Clay, as a party leader, was not his only, nor his highest title to renown. That title is to be found in the purely patriotic spirit which, on great occasions, always signalized his conduct. We have had no statesman, who, in periods of real and imminent public peril, has exhibited a more genuine and enlarged patriotism than Henry Clay. Whenever a question presented itself actually threatening the existence of the Union, Mr. Clay, rising above the passions of the hour, always exerted his powers to solve it peacefully and honorably. Although more liable than most men, from his impetuous and ardent nature, to feel strongly the passions common to us all, it was his rare faculty to be able to subdue them in a great crisis, and to hold toward all sections of the Confederacy the language of concord and brotherhood.

"Sir, it will be a proud pleasure to every true American heart to remember the great occasions when Mr. Clay has displayed a sublime patriotism—when the ill-temper engendered by the times, and the miserable jealousies of the day, seemed to have been driven from his bosom by the expulsive power of nobler feelings—when every throb of his heart was given to his country, every effort of his intellect dedicated to her service. Who does not remember the three periods when the American system of government was exposed to its severest trials; and who does not know that when history shall relate the struggles which preceded, and the dangers which were averted by the Missouri compromise, the tariff compromise of 1832, and the adjustment of 1850, the same pages will record the genius, the eloquence, and the patriotism of Henry Clay?

"Nor was it in Mr. Clay's nature to lag behind till measures of adjustment were matured, and then come forward to

swell a majority. On the contrary, like a bold and real statesman, he was ever among the first to meet the peril, and hazard his fame upon the remedy. It is fresh in the memory of us all that, when lately the fury of sectional discord threatened to sever the confederacy, Mr. Clay, though withdrawn from public life, and oppressed by the burden of years, came back to the senate—the theater of his glory—and devoted the remnant of his strength to the sacred duty of preserving the union of the states.....

"The life of Mr. Clay, sir, is a striking example of the abiding fame which surely awaits the direct and candid statesman. The entire absence of equivocation or disguise, in all his acts, was his master-key to the popular heart; for while the people will forgive the errors of a bold and open nature, he sins past forgiveness who deliberately deceives them. Hence Mr. Clay, though often defeated in his measures of policy, always secured the respect of his opponents without losing the confidence of his friends. He never paltered in a double sense. The country was never in doubt as to his opinions or his purposes. In all the contests of his time, his position on great public questions was as clear as the sun in a cloudless sky. Sir, standing by the grave of this great man, and considering these things, how contemptible does appear the mere legerdemain of politics! What a reproach is his life on that false policy which would trifle with a great and upright people! If I were to write his epitaph, I would inscribe, as the highest eulogy on the stone which shall mark his resting-place, 'Here lies a man who was in the public service for fifty years, and never attempted to deceive his countrymen'!"

The following is the speech of Representative Caskie of Virginia in full; it is of special interest as the voice of one coming from the very district of Clay's nativity.

"Mr. Speaker, unwell as I am, I must try to lay a single laurel leaf in that open coffin, which is already garlanded by the eloquent tributes to the illustrious departed, which have been heard in this now solemn hall; for I come, sir, from the district of his birth. I represent on this floor that old Han-

over so proud of her Henrys—her Patrick Henry and her Henry Clay. I speak for a people among whom he has always had as earnest and devoted friends as were ever the grace and glory of a patriot and statesman.

"I shall attempt no sketch of his life. That you have had from other and abler hands than mine. Till yesterday that life was, of his own free gift, the property of his country; to-day it belongs to her history. It is known to all, and will not be forgotten. Constant, stern opponent of his political school as has been my state, I say for her, that nowhere in this broad land are his great qualities more admired, or his death more mourned, than in Virginia. Well may this be so; for she is his mother, and he was her son.

"Mr. Speaker, when I remember the party strifes in which he was so much mingled, and through which we all more or less have passed, and then survey this scene, and think how far, as the lightning has borne the news that he is gone, half-masted flags are drooping and church-bells are tolling, and men are sorrowing, I can but feel that it is good for man to die. For when death enters, O! how the unkindnesses, and jealousies, and rivalries of life do vanish, and how like incense from an altar do peace, and friendship, and all the sweet charities of our nature, rise round the corpse which once was a man. And of a truth, Mr. Speaker, never was more of veritable noble *manhood* cased in mortal mould than was found in him to whose memory this brief and humble, but true and heartfelt tribute is paid. But his eloquent voice is hushed, his high heart is stilled. Like a shock of corn fully ripe, he has been gathered to his fathers. With more than three-score years and ten upon him, and honors clustered thick about him, in the full possession of unclouded intellect, and all the consolations of Christianty, he has met the fate which is evitable by none. Lamented by all his countrymen, his name is bright on fame's immortal roll. He has finished his course, and he has his crown. What more fruit can life bear? What can it give that Henry Clay has not gained?

"Then, Mr. Speaker, around his tomb should be heard not

only the dirge that wails his loss, but the jubilant anthem which sounds that on the world's battle-field another victory has been won—another *incontestable greatness* achieved."

We close our selections from the obituary addresses with the following extracts form the speech of Representative Brooks of New York. The sections already given may from the fact that they have been practically confined to the statesmen from Kentucky and Virginia be supposed to be more eulogistic in their terms than those of the gentlemen from other parts of the Union. But Mr. Brooks's remarks are, if anything, even more appreciative of Clay than what has already been given. They were in part:

"I speak for, and from, a community in whose heart is enshrined the name of him whom we mourn; who, however much Virginia, the land of his birth, or Kentucky, the land of his adoption, may love him, is, if possible, loved where I live yet more. If idolatry had been Christian, or allowable even, he would have been our idol. But as it is, for a quarter of a century now, his bust, his portrait, or some medal, has been one of our household gods, gracing not alone the saloons and the halls of wealth, but the humblest room or workshop of almost every mechanic or laborer. Proud monuments of his policy as a statesman, as my colleague has justly said, are all about us; and we owe to him, in good degree, our growth, our greatness, our prosperity and happiness as a people.

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"The mind of Mr. Clay has been the governing mind of the country more or less, ever since he has been on the stage of public action. In a minority or majority, more, perhaps, even in a minority than in a majority—he seems to have had some commission, divine as it were, to persuade, to convince, to govern other men. His patriotism, his grand conceptions, have created measures which the secret fascination of his manners in-doors, or his irresistible eloquence without, have enabled him almost always to frame into laws. Adverse administrations have yielded to him, or been borne down by him, or he has taken them captive as a leader, and carried

the country and congress with him. This power he has wielded now for nearly half a century, with nothing but reason and eloquence to back him. And yet when he came here, years ago, he came from a then frontier state of this Union, heralded by no loud trumpet of fame, nay, quite unknown, unfortified even by position, social or pecuniary,—to quote his own words, my only heritage has been infancy, indigence, and ignorance.

"In these days, Mr. Speaker, when mere civil qualifications for high public places—when long civil training and practical statesmanship are held subordinate — a most discouraging prospect would be rising up before our young men, were it not for some such names as Lowndes, Crawford, Clinton, Gaston Calhoun, Clay, and the like, scattered along the pages of our history, as stars or constellations along a cloudless sky. They shine forth, and show us, that if the chief magistracy cannot be won by such qualifications, a memory among men can be—a hold upon posterity, as firm, as lustrous—nay, more imperishable. In the Capitolium of Rome there are long rows of marble slabs, on which are recorded the names of the Roman consuls; but the eye wanders over this wilderness of letters but to light up and kindle upon some Cato or Cicero. To win such fame, thus unsullied, as Mr. Clay has won, is worth any man's ambition. And how has he won it? By courting the shifting gales of popularity? No, never! By truckling to the schemes, the arts, and seductions of the demagogue? Never, never! His hardest battles as a public man—his greatest, most illustrious achievements have been against, at first, an adverse public opinion. To gain an imperishable name, he has often braved the perishable popularity of the moment. That sort of courage which, in a public man, I deem the highest of all courage—that sort of courage most necessary under our form of government to guide as well as save a state—Mr. Clay was possessed of more than any public man I ever knew. Physical courage, valuable, indispensable though it be, we share but with the brute; but moral courage, to dare to do right amid all temptations to

do wrong, is, as it seems to me, the very highest species, the noblest heroism, under institutions like ours.

"Another of the keys, Mr. Speaker, of his universal reputation was his intense nationality. When taunted but recently, almost within our hearing, as it were, on the floor of the senate by a southern senator, as being a southern man unfaithful to the south—his indignant but patriotic exclamation was, 'I know no *south,* no north, no east, no west.' The country, the *whole* country, loved, reverenced, adored such a man. The soil of Virginia may be his birth-place, the sod of Kentucky will cover his grave—what was mortal they claim—but the spirit, the soul, the genius of the mighty man, the immortal part, these belong to his country and to his God."

The Strong Staff Broken, and the Beautiful Rod: Funeral Sermon of Henry Clay.

Delivered in the Senate Chamber, July 1, 1852. "How is the strong staff broken, and the beautiful rod"—Jeremiah 48: 17.

The following sermon preached by the chaplain of the senate at the funeral of Henry Clay, gives such a beautiful word-picture of the latter's genius and of his country's appreciation of it, as well as presenting Clay's strong religious convictions and his ideals of Christian statesmanship as expressed to one who saw him often as his end approached, that it is doubtless of sufficient interest to merit a place in the present volume of memorials of Henry Clay.

"Before all hearts and minds in this august assemblage the vivid image of *one man* stands. To some aged-eye he may come forth, from the dim past, as he appeared in the neighboring city of his native state, a lithe and ardent youth, full of promise, of ambition, and of hope. To another he may appear as in a distant state, in the courts of justice, erect, high-strung, bold, wearing the fresh forensic laurels on his young and open brow. Some may see him in the earlier, and some in the later, stages of his career, on this conspicuous theater of his renown; and to the former he

will start out on the back-ground of the past, as he appeared in the neighboring chamber, tall, elate, impassioned,—with flashing eye, and suasive gesture, and clarion voice an already acknowledged Agamemnon, King of Men; and to others he will again stand in this chamber, the strong staff of the bewildered and staggering state, and the beautiful rod with the blossoms of genius, and of patriotic love and hope, the life of youth still remaining to give animation, grace, and exhaustless vigor, to the wisdom, the experience, and the gravity of age. To others he may be present as he sat in the chamber of sickness, cheerful, majestic, gentle—his mind clear, his heart warm, his hope fixed on heaven, peacefully preparing for his last great change. To the memory of the minister of God he appears as the penitent, humble, and peaceful Christian, who received him with the affection of a father, and joined with him in solemn sacrament and prayer, with the gentleness of a woman, and the humility of a child. 'Out of the strong came forth sweetness.' 'How is the strong staff broken and the beautiful rod.'

"But not before this assembly only does the venerated image of the departed statesman, this day, distinctly stand. For more than a thousand miles—east, west, north, and south—it is known and remembered that, at this place and hour, a nation's representatives assemble to do honor to him whose fame is now a nation's heritage. A nation's mighty heart throbs against this capitol and beats through you. In many cities banners droop, bells toll, cannons boom, funeral draperies wave. In crowded streets and on sounding wharfs, upon steamboats and upon cars, in fields and in workshops, in homes, in schools, millions of men, women, and children have their thoughts fixed upon this scene, and say mournfully to each other, 'This is the hour in which at the capitol, the nation's representatives are burying Henry Clay.' *Burying* Henry Clay! Bury the records of your country's history—bury the hearts of living millions—bury the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, and the spreading lands from sea to sea, with which his name is inseparably associated, and even then you would not bury Henry Clay—for he

lives in other lands, and speaks in other tongues, and to other times than ours.

"A great mind, a great heart, a great orator, a great career, have been consigned to history. She will record his rare gifts of deep insight, keen discrimination, clear statement, rapid combination, plain, direct, and convincing logic. She will love to dwell on that large, generous, magnanimous, open, forgiving heart. She will linger with fond delight, on the recorded and traditional stories of an eloquence that was so masterful and stirring, because it was but *himself* struggling to come forth on the living words—because, though the words were brave and strong, and beautiful and melodious, it was felt that, behind them there was a *soul* braver, stronger, more beautiful, and more melodious, than language could express. She will point to a career of statesmanship which has, to a remarkable degree, stamped itself on the public policy of the country, and reached, in beneficent practical results, the fields, the looms, the commercial marts, and the quiet homes of all the land, where his name was, with the departed fathers, and is with the living children, and will be, with successive generations, an honored household word.

"I feel, as a man, the grandeur of this career. But as an immortal, with this broken wreck of mortality before me, with this scene as the end-all of human glory, I feel that no career, is truly great, but that of him who, whether he be illustrious or obscure, lives to the future in the present, and linking himself to the spiritual world, draws from God the life, the rule, the motive, and the reward of all his labor. So would that great spirit which has departed say to us, could he address us now. So did he realize, in the calm and meditative close of life. I feel that I but utter the lessons which, living, were his last and best convictions, and which, dead, would be, could he speak to us, his solemn admonitions, when I say that statesmanship is then only glorious, when it is *Christian;* and that man is then only safe, and true to his duty, and his soul, when the life which he lives in the flesh is the life of faith in the Son of God.

"Great, indeed, is the privilege, and most honorable and useful is the career, of a Christian American statesman. He perceives that civil liberty came from the freedom wherewith Christ made its early martyrs and defenders free. He recognizes it as one of the twelve manner of fruits on the Tree of Life, which, while its lower branches furnish the best nutriment of earth, hangs on its topmost boughs, which wave in heaven, fruits that exhilarate the immortals. Recognizing the state as God's institution, he will perceive that his own ministry is divine. Living consciously under the eye, and in the love and fear of God; redeemed by the blood of Jesus; sanctified by His Spirit; loving His law; he will give himself, in private and in public, to the service of his Saviour. He will not admit that he may act on less lofty principles in public, than in private life; and that he must be careful of his moral influence in the small sphere of home and neighborhood, but need take no heed of it when it stretches over continents and crosses seas. He will know that his moral responsibility cannot be divided and distributed among others. When he is told that adherence to the strictest moral and religious principle is incompatible with a successful and eminent career, he will denounce the assertion as a libel on the venerated Fathers of the Republic —a libel on the honored living and the illustrious dead—a libel against a great and Christian nation—a libel against God himself, who has declared and made godliness profitable for the life that now is. He will strive to make laws the transcript of the character, and institutions illustrations of the providence of God. He will scan with admiration and awe the purposes of God in the future history of the world, in throwing open this wide continent, from sea to sea, as the abode of freedom, intelligence, plenty, prosperity, and peace; and feel that in giving his energies with a patriot's love, to the welfare of his country, he is consecrating himself, with a Christian's zeal, to the extension and establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom. Compared with a career like this, which is equally open to those whose public sphere is large or small, how paltry are the trade of patriotism, the tricks

of statemanship, the reward of successful baseness. This hour, this scene, the venerated dead, the present, the future, God, duty, heaven, hell, speak trumpet-tongued to all in the service of their country, to *beware* how they lay polluted or unhallowed hands—

'Upon the ark
Of her magnificent and awful cause.'

"Such is the character of that statesmanship which alone would have met the full approval of the venerated dead. For the religion which always had a place in the convictions of his mind, had also, within a recent period, entered into his experience, and seated itself in his heart. Twenty years since he wrote, 'I am a member of no religious sect, and I am not a professor of religion. I regret that I'm not. I wish that I was, and trust that I shall be. I have, and always have had, a profound regard for Christianty, the religion of my fathers, and for its rites, its usages, and observances.' That feeling proved that the seed sown by pious parents was not dead, though stifled. A few years since, its dormant life was reawakened. He was baptized in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and during his sojourn in this city, he was in full communion with Trinity Parish.

"It is since his withdrawal from the sittings of the senate, that I have been made particularly acquainted with his religious opinion, character, and feelings. From the commencement of his illness he always expressed to me his persuasion that its termination would be fatal. From that period until his death, it was my privilege to hold frequent religious services and conversations with him in his room.

* * * * * * *

"Among the books which, in connection with the Word of God, he read most, were 'Jay's Morning and Evening Exercises,' the 'Life of Dr. Chalmers,' and 'The Christian Philosopher Triumphant in Death'."

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF HENRY CLAY.

CLAY AT FIFTEEN.

Roland Thomas, senior clerk in the office in which Clay became a copyist, at the age of fifteen, has left us this description of Clay's appearance the day he began his work.

"His face was not handsome; his manners were not entirely uncouth, but it was supposed that he was to be the butt of ridicule. It was soon seen however that he had a keen tongue, and the laughter was turned to admiration. He was dressed in a new suit of Figginy (Virginia) cloth, cotton and silk mixed, complexion of pepper and salt, with clean linen well starched, and the tail of his coat standing out from his legs at an angle of forty-five degrees, like that of a dragoon."

Mr. Thomas adds that Clay was an earnest student at night and odd moments; that he never, at this time, went out at night for pleasure.

CLAY AND BURR.

Burr gave the following written paper to Clay before Clay would undertake his defence when he was charged with treason, by Col. Daviess, the United States Attorney, 1806.

"He [Burr] had no design to intermeddle with, or disturb the tranquility of the United States, or its territories, nor any part of them. He had neither issued nor signed, nor promised a commission, to any person, for any purpose. He did not own a single musket, nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor did

any other person for him, by his authority or knowledge. His views had been explained to several distinguished members of the administration, were well understood and approved by the government. They were such as every man of honor, and every good citizen, must approve. He considered this declaration proper as well to counteract the chimerical tales circulated by the malevolence of his enemies, as to satisfy Mr. Clay, that he had not become the counsel of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government, or the well being of his country."

J. Q. ADAMS.

The Aurora of 1808 contains an article from which *The Reporter* of Lexington quotes the following extract. It mirrors the feelings of the people of Kentucky, as they conceived the New England Federalist of that day.

"Mr. *J. Q. Adams* has committed an offence inexpiable against *the friends of a union between Gt. B. and the eastern states.* In order to reign over the people as satraps, there is a faction in the eastern states willing to subvert the union: *Mr. Adams* has had the honesty *to repel, resist* and expose them; and he is removed from the senate. He has, in his removal, the consolation of a virtuous man, and the applause of his country, while those who would betray their country to the flagitous designs of Gt. B., already meet the national execration."

WAR OF 1812 IN NEW YORK.

The New York Evening Post, is quoted in the *National Intelligencer*, of May 12, 1812, as using this language in regard to their position on the War.

"Mr. Clay and his western brethren may make light of our cities being laid in ashes followed by a flight to Kentucky and Ohio, but we shall take the liberty to think for ourselves, as well as to feel for ourselves, to deliberate for ourselves and to determine for ourselves. We tell them plainly that *we will not go to war;* we will not abandon our cities; we will not take flight to the westward. And, now, *let them try their power over us as soon as they please.*"

CLAY'S FIRST BANK SPEECH.

The Argus of Western America, a Kentucky paper, quotes this comment from the *Whig*, on Clay's great speech against the Bank, on Feb. 15, 1811.

"Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, chained the attention of the Senate, and of the crowded galleries to a speech of about an hour and twenty minutes continuance, abounding in strong and prespicuous argument, and in stubborn facts, pronounced in the most natural and emphatic manner. Such a display of forceful oratory I have never witnessed in a legislative body, and, if I decline the attempt to report from mere recollection an accurate sketch of this matchless oration; if my *memory* was deluded to do homage to my *admiration* the merit of the speech will be found an ample excuse for my delinquency.".

FEDERALIST ESTIMATE OF CLAY, 1815.

The *Examiner* of Sept. 13, 1815, contains this estimate of Clay. From this article one may form a very good idea of the amenities of journalism at that time.

"We are at length recovered from the fascination of

the heroic manners of *Harry Clay;* and we have ceased to contemplate with enthusiastic rapture 'the *human face divine*,' which adorns the forepart of the head of Albert Gallatin.

"Of Mr. Clay's vehemence in favor of that war which was to establish the absolute intactability of neutral commerce. . . little now need be said. His utter disappointment in these matters, sufficiently proves, that although he may rank high, in the order of bawling patriots, he has shown himself utterly destitute of that sober, practical wisdom, which distinguishes the real statesman from the vociferous demagogue. . . To him *honor* seemed to consist in being an *ambassador;* not in being consistent and inflexible. . . .

"But I cannot forbear to ask what mighty service this gentleman has rendered his country? He was certainly never so famous for elegant composition, as Stump Orator." [He states that] "*a great object of the war has been attained in the firm establishment of the national character.* Is this true? Or *is it false?* Federalists! Democrats! On your consciences is it true or is it *false?* . . . It was reserved for Mr. Clay to cap the climax of absurdity and falsehood, by saying that the establishment of the national character was a great object of the war. The assertion is not true. There is not an idiot in the country who can be persuaded it is true. Mr. Clay knew it was not true."

CLAY AND LAFAYETTE.

In 1824 at the time of LaFayette's visit to the United

Henry Clay Addressing the U. S. Senate in 1850.

States, Clay delivered the welcoming address in the House of Representatives:

"The vain wish has been sometimes indulged that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his own country, and to contemplate the intermediate changes which had taken place—to view the forests felled, the cities built, the mountains leveled, the canals cut, the high-ways constructed, the progress of the arts, the advancement of learning, and the increase of population. General, your present visit to the United States is a realization of the consoling object of that wish. You are in the midst of posterity. Everywhere you must have been struck with the great changes, physical and moral, which have occurred since you left us. Even this very city, bearing a venerated name, alike endeared to you and to us, has since emerged from the forests which then covered its site. In one respect you find us unaltered, and that is in the sentiment of continued devotion to liberty, and of ardent affection and profound gratitude to your departed friend, the Father of his country; and to you, and to your illustrious associates in the field and in the cabinet, for the multiplied blessings which surround us, and for the very privilege of addressing you, which I now exercise. This sentiment, now fondly cherished by more than ten millions of people, will be transmitted, with unabated vigor, down the tide of time, through the countless millions who are destined to inhabit this continent, to the latest posterity."

CLAY TO HIS NEIGHBORS, 1829.

The following extract from an address to his constitu-

ents, in 1829, when he returned from Washington, after retiring from the position of Secretary of State, shows us, in part, at least, the qualities which gave him such a powerful hold on his neighbors, who were ever and always his friends. Some one has said that the nearer one got to Lexington, Kentucky, the stronger he found the hold that Clay had on the people.

"And now, my friends and fellow-citizens, I cannot part from you, on possibly this last occasion of my ever publicly addressing you, without reiterating the expression of my thanks from a heart overflowing with gratitude. I came among you, now more than thirty years ago, an orphan boy, pennyless, a stranger to you all, without friends, without the favor of the great. You took me up, cherished me, caressed me, protected me, honored me. You have constantly poured upon me a bold and unabated stream of innumerable favors. Time, which wears out everything, has increased and strengthened your affection for me. When I seemed deserted by almost the whole world, and assailed by almost every tongue and pen and press, you have fearlessly and manfully stood by me, with unsurpassed zeal and undiminished friendship. When I felt as if I should sink beneath the storm of abuse and destruction, which was violently raging around me, I have found myself upheld and sustained by your encouraging voices and your approving smiles. I have doubtless committed many faults and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity."

DESCRIPTION OF CLAY.

Reverend Robt. J. Breckenridge, in an oration on laying the corner-stone of the Clay monument, at Lexington, gives this estimate of Clay and his power.

"It is in the midst of such progress, through such a development, to such a result, that this man, confessedly so great as an orator, a lawyer, a politician, a parliamentary leader, must vindicate to himself the still higher title of a great statesman. Two things may be confidently asserted as the basis of his claim to a title so august. The first is that of all the statesmen of his age, he most prominently carved a policy for his country; a policy to adopt which, or to reject which, made the system of other statesmen. . . . From 1811 to 1852. . . . it cannot be denied that the opinion of Henry Clay was an important element in the fate of every important question of national policy. The other fact is still more honorable to his name, still more conclusive of his true greatness. To whatever cause we may see fit to attribute it, whether to his patriotism, to his justice, his sagacity, his love of fairness, his ambition, the fact is still unquestionable, that of all the statesmen of the day, he was held by the common voice of mankind to be the most impartial. Impartial in striving to arrange all conflicting interests, impartial in seeking to adjust all threatening difficulties, impartial in settling the boundaries of power and right, impartial in his great spirit, in his wide intelligence, and in his dauntless conduct." . . .

"Honest in all things, truthful always; to deceive, to prevaricate, to act unfairly—the refuge of base, timid,

and feeble natures—no more entered into his thoughts in the high and difficult emergencies of life, than in the daily round of his commonest duties. His was a fair, high, brave, upright nature." . . .

"There was nothing distorted about his nature—nothing out of sympathy with his times—nothing that could make him, or any one else, feel that he was not a man of the very living generation. He was not a common, —on the other hand he was a grand specimen, but yet he was a real and faithful specimen of a man, of an American, of a Kentuckian."

CAMPAIGN SONGS.

In 1844 the "National Clay Melodist" was prepared. The songs are the purest doggerel, but a few selections will help us to an insight into the campaign of that year. The book was dedicated with the following quotation from one of Clay's letters.

"I have wished the good opinion of the world, but I defy the most malignant of my enemies to show that I have attempted to gain it by any low or groveling acts, by any mean or unworthy sacrifice, by the violation of any of the obligations of honor or by a breach of any of the duties which I owed my country."

DID YOU EVER HEAR OF THE FARMER.

"Did ever you hear of the farmer
Who lives up in the West?
Of all the men for President
The wisest and the best,
To put him in the capitol
We've found a capital way.

Oh! we'll sing a Harry Clay song by night,
And beat his foes by day."

"Come all, of every station,
The rich as well as poor;
For all the farmer had a place,
Who ever sought his door:
He ever had an open hand,
Nor turned the poor away;
Oh! we'll sing a Harry Clay song by night,
And beat his foes by day."

VAN CAN'T COME IT.

"When pumpkins shall grow on the top of a steeple,
And showers of pancakes shall fall with the rain;
When Benton and Tyler can humbug the people,
Van Buren may come back to power again."

. . . . . .

"When camels shall creep through the eye of a needle
And dunces confess themselves minus in brain;
When rogues cannot cheat us nor parasites wheedle,
Van Buren may come back to power again."

COME! UP WITH THE BANNER.

"Come! up with the banner
Of good Harry Clay,
Who in peace and in war,
Was his country's firm stay;
Spread it wide to the breeze;
We'er freemen who rear it;
And whate'er its fate be,
We'll willingly share it.
We are some of the lads who in '40 were true
To the gallant Old Hero of Tippecanoe."

"For cute Van and Calhoun,
We care little or nought;
They spread their own snares,
And in these they are caught,

They're for tariff—no tariff,
This, that thing, and t'other,
And so much, and nothing,
That they honest men bother,
We are some of the lads, &c."

CLAY'S EARLY VIEWS ON SLAVERY.

I cannot get any absolute proof that the following letter in the *Kentucky Gazette* of April 25, 1798, is Clay's, as it is signed "Scaevola," yet I am morally certain of it.

It is an appeal to the voters of Kentucky to send delegates to the Constitutional Convention favorable to the views set forth in it. After discussing at some length the need of a general revision of the Constitution he says:—

"It is not however true that the people of Kentucky are contented and happy under the present government. The vote of so large a number in favor of a convention at the last election, and the present stir in the country, prove the contrary. Can any humane man be happy and contented when he sees nearly thirty thousand of his fellow beings around him, deprived of all the rights which make life desirable, transferred like cattle from the possession of one to another; when he sees the trembling slave under the hammer, surrounded by a number of eager purchasers, and feeling all the emotions which arise when one is uncertain into whose tyrannical hands he must next fall; when he beholds the anguish and hears the piercing cries of husbands separated from wives and children from parents; when in a word, all the tender and endearing ties of nature are broken assunder and

disregarded; and when he reflects that no gradual mode of emancipation is adopted either for those slaves or for their posterity, doubling their numbers every twenty-five years. To suppose the people of Kentucky, enthusiasts as they are in the cause of liberty, could be contented and happy under circumstances like these, would be insulting their good sense. . . . . .

"In addition to other misrepresentations to which the enemies to a convention, dispairing of success by a fair mode of reasoning, have had recourse, they have addressed themselves insidiously to the fears of the slaveholders, and held out as the object of the friends to the constitution are immediate and unqualified liberation of the slaves. However just such a measure might be, it certainly has never been the intention of any one to attempt it; and the only motive in ascribing it to them has been to awaken the prejudices, and to mislead the judgment of the public. But it is the wish of some of them that a gradual emancipation should be adopted. All America acknowledges the existence of slavery to be an evil, which while it deprives the slave of the best gift of heaven, in the end injures the master too, by laying waste his land, enabling him to live indolently, and thus contracting all the vices generated by a state of idleness. If it be this enormous evil, the sooner we attempt its destruction the better. It is a subject that has been so generally canvassed by the public, that it is unnecessary to repeat all the reasons which urge to a conventional interference. It is sufficient that we are satisfied of this much, that the article prohibiting the legislature

from making any provision for it [emancipation] should be expunged, and another introduced either applying the remedy itself, or authorizing the legislature at any subsequent period to do it.

There can be no danger in vesting this power in them, and there will be a number of them who will themselves hold slaves. The legislature of Virginia possesses this power without abusing it."

In the last part of the article "Scaevola" argued that a state senate was a useless body, hence he proposed that the new convention should provide for only one house in the legislature.

CLAY'S DUELS.

In accordance with the custom of the times Clay fought in two duels, and was ready for at least two more which were finally amicably arranged by mutual friends of the parties.

The first duel was fought with Humphrey Marshall early in 1809. The following extracts from *The Reporter*, a Lexington, Kentucky, newspaper give us a vivid picture of the condition of the times.

General Riffe was a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, when Marshall gave the insult. Clay resented it on the spot, and attempted to attack Marshall, "but Riffe who sat between them, a tall muscular man, seized each with one hand, and held them appart, saying earnestly, 'Come poys, no fighting here, I whips you poth.' " Jan. 4, 1809 Clay sent the following letter:

"H. MARSHALL, ESQ., Present,

Sir: After the occurrences in the house of representatives on this day, the receipt of this note will excite with you no surprise. I hope on my part I shall not be disappointed in the execution of the pledge you gave on that occasion, and in your disclaimer of the character attributed to you. To enable you to fulfill these reasonable and just expectations, my friend Major Campbell is authorized by me to adjust the ceremonies proper to the observed.

I am, sir, yours &c.,

HENRY CLAY."

On the same day the following reply was sent.

"H. CLAY, ESQ., Frankfort,

Sir: Your note of this date was handed me by Major Campbell. The object is understood; and without designing to notice the insinuation it contains as to character, the necessary arrangements are, on my part, submitted to my friend, Col. Moore,

Yours &c.,

H. MARSHALL."

These rules were agreed upon to be observed by Clay and Marshall on the duelling ground:—

1. "Each gentleman will take his station at ten paces distant from the other, and will stand as may suit his choice, with his arms hanging down, and after the words, Attention! Fire! being given both may fire at their leisure.

2. "A snap or flash shall be equivalent to a fire.

3. "If one should fire before the other, he who fires first, shall stand in the position in which he was when he fired, except that he may let his arms fall down by his side.

4. "A violation of the above rules by either of the parties (accidents excepted) shall subject the offender to instant death.

JOHN B. CAMPBELL,
JAMES F. MOORE."

Three shots were fired. Marshall was slightly wounded on the first, and Clay somewhat severely on the third fire. The seconds in their "official" report note that Clay "insisted on another fire very ardently."

As the duel arose over a debate concerning the principle of protection, it has been said that Clay "fought and bled" for the idea which dominated so much of his thinking.

In 1812 Randolph accused Clay of unfairness in his actions as Speaker, and became very violent in his language. In reply to a letter, Langdon Chens wrote to Clay as follows:

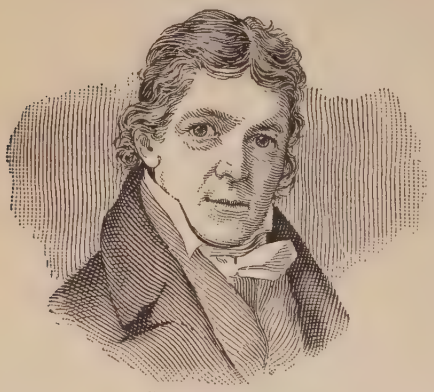
"You ask me 'what notice you ought to take of Randolph's reply?' Certainly none, none whatever. . . . I think as the question stands, you have entirely the advantage of the *argument*; and I think you would egregiously err, as the Speaker of the House of Representatives (it would be entirely different were it a question between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph) to put it on any other footing than that of argument. . . .

"I have not a doubt of your willingness to put the question personally on any footing whatever, that might be deemed proper. But any such notice of it on your part would be most inexcusably wrong."

One is happy to add that Clay followed the advice given, and it was not until 1825 that the Clay-Randolph duel took place. At that time Randolph said of the political alliance of Adams and Clay that it was the "Union of the Puritan and the Blackleg, &c." For this Clay issued a challenge for which he ever after expressed contrition.

There are varying accounts of this duel. Gen. James Hamilton, Randolph's second, states that Randolph fired in the air, and not at Clay. He says:—"On the word being given, Mr. Clay fired without effect, Mr. Randolph discharging his pistol in the air. The moment Mr. Clay saw that Mr. Randolph had thrown away his fire, with a gush of sensibility, he instantly approached Randolph

and said, with an emotion I can never forget—'I trust in God, my dear Sir, you are untouched; after what has occurred I would not have harmed you for a thousand worlds.' " Mr. Randolph had beforehand communicated to his second his intention "not to return Mr. Clay's fire; nothing shall induce me to harm a hair of his head. I will not make his wife a widow, nor his children orphans. Their tears would be shed over his grave; but when the sod of Virginia rests on my bosom, there is not, in this wide world, one individual to pay this tribute upon mine."



John Randolph.

In 1853, Gen. Jesup, who had been Clay's second, in a letter to Clay's son, James, gives a somewhat different version. He states that Randolph shot at Clay the first round, and threw away his second shot. Randolph's pistol went off accidently before the command had been given. For that reason Gen. Jesup makes Randolph speak and act as follows: " 'Mr. Clay, I came upon the ground determined not to fire at you, but the unfortunate discharge of my pistol, . . . for a moment changed my mind.' They sprang forward as if by a common impulse, and grasped each other by the hand, each expressing the pleasure he felt that the other was unhurt."

Clay in his private letters condemned himself, his acts, and the custom. In his later years he acted in accordance with his professions.

CLAY AND THE PEOPLE.

Henry Clay was a great admirer of crowds. Webster, Benton or Calhoun would cross the street to avoid one, but Clay would cross the street to meet one or mingle with one. He seemed to be personally acquainted with every one, and he seemed to act as if every one knew him. Congressman Wentworth says "Seldom did any body of men come out in the evening with a musical band that Mr. Clay was not serenaded, and he was ready for a short speech to send the men home with a hurrah. I never knew men with a band of music to call on any one of the others."

The people of the whole country seemed to take delight in sending Mr. Clay articles of all kinds for food and drink. The proprietor of the National Hotel where he roomed used to exhibit to strangers what he called Mr. Clay's store-room. In it was game of all kinds, fruits and wines. From these stores he would often supply not only the table of his own guests, but also the table of the guests of the hotel. On one occasion it is recorded by Mr. Wentworth that wine from Cincinnati was passed around, and as it went from guest to guest Mr. Clay discoursed of the need of protection so that the home industry might be built up. "Persons who had never heard Mr. Clay before, became so infatuated with the earnestness and eloquence of his language, that they

moved their chairs to him, and the crowd became so dense around him, that he suggested an adjournment to the ladies parlor, where he held a levee for about an hour, and no free-trader cared to mar the harmony of the occasion." It was Clay's custom to spend an hour or more after dinner in the ladies' parlor in meeting his friends, and in making more friends.

Clay as every one knows, was at his best as a compromiser. Most great orators have made their fame in advocating radical causes. Clay on the other hand was the orator of conservatism. It was in pleading for the Union, in urging compromise that many if not most, of his great speeches were uttered. The following incident is told of him in connection with the great conflict of 1849-50. The narrator says: "After one of his days of severe conflict, he took his seat at the table without saying a word to one of us. Senator Berrien said: 'Mr. Clay why don't you speak. Are you angry at everybody?' 'That is just it,' says Mr. Clay; 'I cannot say that I am angry at any one in particular. I think I am angry at every one. Here is our country on the very verge of civil war, which every one pretends to be anxious to avoid, yet everyone wants his own way, irrespective of the interests and wishes of others.' Then turning to us he said 'Come gentlemen, go to my parlor after dinner, and let me lock you in, and I remaining outside, will agree to present any plan of conciliation you may agree upon, to the Senate, and advocate it.'" About this time a committee of New England manufacturers approached him with reference to the tariff. Before all he broke out: "Don't talk

to me about the tariff when it is doubtful whether we have a country. Go and see your Massachusetts delegation and urge them to lay aside their sectional jealousies, to cease exasperating the South, and to cultivate a spirit of peace. Save your country and then talk about your tariff."

QUOTATIONS.

These anecdotes of Clay are taken from Winthop's "Recollections of Clay." "With a rich and ready command of language of his own, he was an infrequent quoter of other men's thoughts or words, and certainly no accumulator of elegant extracts for the adornment of his speeches. Indeed he was proverbial for blundering over even the most familiar quotations from Shakespeare. The late George Evans, one of the ablest Senators ever sent to Washington by a state which may boast of a Peleg Sprague and a William Pitt Fessenden [Maine] .. used to tell more than one amusing story of Mr. Clay's efforts in this line. 'What is it,' said Clay to him one day, 'that Shakespeare says about a rose smelling as sweet &c. Write me down those lines; and be sure you get them exactly right, and let them be in a large legible hand.' And so Mr. Evans having verified his memory, at Clay's request, by a resort to the Congressional Library, and having laid the lines in plain, bold letters on Mr. Clay's desk,—

'What's in a name? That which we call a rose,
By any other name would smell as sweet'

awaited the result. As the great statesman approached that part of his speech in which he was to apply them,

there was an evident embarrassment. He fumbled over his notes for a while, then grasped the little copy with a nervous effort, and at last ejaculated in despair, 'A rose will smell the same, call it what you will.' "

"On another occasion he had fortified himself by recalling the exclamation of Hamlet, 'Let the galled jade wince,'—but it was only after saying 'unhung' and 'unstrung' that on the third attempt, and by the prompting of a friend, he made the Senate Chamber ring with the true words, 'our withers are unwrung.' "

CLAY ON THE CHARGE OF CORRUPTION.

Clay wrote the following letter to a member of the Virginia legislature in regard to the charge of corruption in 1825.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1825.

"My Dear Sir: I have received, and read, with all the attention due to our ancient and unbroken friendship, your letter of the 2nd instant. You state, that the conviction has been forced upon the Richmond public, by the papers which are daily received from this city, that I have gone over to the party of Mr. Adams, with a view to constitute a part of his cabinet. Do you believe it? Then you ought not to respect me. Do you wish me to deny it? Then you cannot respect me. What do you desire? That I shall vote for Mr. Crawford? *I can not*; for General Jackson—*I will not.* I shall pursue the course, which my conscience dictates, regardless of all imputations, and all consequences. I love the state which gave me birth, more than she loves me. Personally, I would make any sacrifice to evince this attachment. But I have public duties to perform, which comprehend a consideration of her peculiar interests and wishes, and those of the rest of the confederacy. Those I *shall* perform. In doing so, I may incur, unfortunately, her displeasure. *Be it so.* I cannot help it. The quiet of my conscience is of more importance to me, than the good opinion of even Virginia, highly as I do, and ever must, respect it.

Your faithful friend, H. CLAY."

THE STORY OF HENRY CLAY.

FOR A SCHOOL OR CLUB PROGRAMME.

Each numbered paragraph is to be given to a pupil or member to read, or to recite, in a clear, distinct tone.

If the school or club is small, each person may take three or four paragraphs, but should not be required to recite them in succession.

1. The "Great American Commoner," Henry Clay, was born in Hanover County, Virginia, on the 12th of April, 1777.

2. He came into the world during one of the most memorable periods in its history,—the time when his native land was struggling to achieve her liberties and win a place among the nations of the earth.

3. His father Rev. Charles Clay was a highly esteemed Baptist minister who officiated with great acceptance in that region of the country to which the name "Slashes" was given on account of the low and marshy nature of the soil.

4. From this circumstance Henry Clay was frequently called "The Mill-boy of the Slashes."

5. Henry's father had a long struggle with poverty until 1781 when he died, leaving a small and encumbered property to his widow and seven children; of these Henry was the fifth, and although a bright, cheerful and intelligent lad he gave no special indication of superior ability.

6. The only school he ever attended was one of the old "field schools" of the country. This was taught by an Englishman, who was a good natured man, but not always a strict observer of temperance.

7. Henry learned to read and write, and to cipher as far as Practice.

8. This was the only school he ever attended. He often regretted in after life, when sometimes taunted with his imperfect education, that he could not have enjoyed greater privileges.

9. He assisted his widowed mother in cultivating the farm until he was fourteen years old. He was then procured a situation in a drug store in Richmond, where he served as errand boy and clerk of all work for a year.

10. His mother married Mr. Henry Watkins in 1792 and removed to Kentucky. Henry obtained through Mr. Watkin's influence a

place as copying clerk in the office of Mr. Peter Tinsley, clerk of the High Court of Chancery.

11. At this time he was but fifteen years of age "very tall, very slender, very awkward" and not remarkably handsome.

12. He was dressed in a very peculiar manner with his shirt collar, stiffly starched, and his coat tails standing out boldly behind him.

13. The young City clerks were tempted at first to make sport of this gawky country boy but they quickly found that it would not be to their advantage to do so.

14. He applied himself faithfully to his duties and devoted all his leisure time to reading and study.

15. Chancellor Wythe one of the most eminent jurists of America chose young Clay for a copyist on account of the neatness of his handwriting.

16. For four years Henry regularly copied the Chancellor's decisions which were among the clearest and best ever given from the judicial bench. Between the Chancellor and the young man an affectionate relation soon existed.

17. A debating society which had been established in Richmond gave Clay the opportunity to display his oratorical powers.

18. He assiduously cultivated the wonderfully melodious voice with which he had been gifted and soon became the best speaker the Society contained.

19. He said in after years, "I made it a habit at this period of my life to read daily in some work of history or science and then to retire to some solitary place and declaim the substance of what I had read.

20. "It is to this early practice of the art of all arts that I am indebted for the primary and leading impulses that stimulated my progress and have shaped and molded my entire destiny."

21. In November 1797 before he had completed his twenty-first year he was licensed by the Court of Appeals to practice law.

22. He immediately went to Lexington, at that time the capital of the new state of Kentucky, although but a small village of about fifty houses.

23. His success was rapid and very great. With it his personal popularity continually increased. His thrilling eloquence frequently won for him enthusiastic ovations.

24. In April 1799 he married Miss Lucretia Hart, the daughter of Colonel Thomas Hart, one of the most highly respected citizens of Kentucky. He lived happily with her for fifty-three years.

25. Mrs. Clay was a skilful manager of her husband's household, and by her domestic ability greatly assisted him in procuring a competency for his family. She survived him several years.

26. In 1798 Mr. Clay made earnest efforts for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky, but was not successful.

27. He afterwards declared when he had reached the zenith of his fame and was opposing the nullification schemes of John C. Calhoun, that among the proudest memories of his life was the effort he had made at the very outset of his career, to free Kentucky from the curse of slavery.

28. In 1803 he was elected to the Legislature of Kentucky. While serving as a member he defended Aaron Burr, who was charged with treason. Burr made Mr. Clay believe that he was innocent of the crime! But when the real facts were subsequently made known to Mr. Clay, he would not speak to Burr when he afterwards met him.

29. In 1806 Mr. Clay was elected to the Senate of the United States to fill the unexpired term of one of the Kentucky senators. During this term he began his career as an advocate of the protection of American interests by the general Government.

30. His term having expired in 1807, he returned home and being elected to the lower House of the Kentucky Legislature was chosen its Speaker.

31. While thus serving he had a political dispute with Mr. Humphrey Marshall. Mr. Clay was a supporter of President Jefferson's policy and Mr. Marshall was an ardent Federalist.

32. According to the foolish custom of the time a duel was fought by the two men in which both were wounded.

33. Mr. Clay was again elected to the Senate of the United States in 1809 to fill an unexpired term of two years.

34. Upon his retirement from the Senate he was elected to the House of Representatives in Congress from the Lexington District, in 1811, and upon the organization of the House was chosen Speaker.

35. Mainly through the eloquence and energy of Mr. Clay the war of 1812 was declared. President Madison proposed to make Mr. Clay the Commander-in-Chief of the army, when the first year of the war seemed to end in disaster.

36. The purpose of the President was changed, when Mr. Gallatin asked him the important question. "If Mr. Clay goes to the army what shall we do without him in the House of Representatives?"

37. In 1813 he was re-elected Speaker. But on Jan. 19, 1814 he resigned the position to serve as one of the Commissioners to meet at Ghent in Belguim, with those appointed by Great Britain.

38. Mr. Clay rendered signal service to his country by steadily refusing to concede to England the point which she urgently demanded, to have the right of the free navigation of the Mississippi river.

39. From Ghent he went to Paris, and thence to London with Adams and Gallatin to negotiate a treaty of Commerce with Great Britain.

40. After his return to the United States he was tendered by President Madison the Mission to Russia and a place in his Cabinet, but each offer was declined.

41. In 1815 he was again elected to the National House of Representatives and chosen speaker.

42. He was re-elected in 1817 and, again in 1819 and was chosen speaker on both occasions: while thus serving he was an ardent advocate of the recognition of the independence of the Spanish Republics of South America.

43. He took a most prominent part in 1820 and 1821 in the famous controversy between the North and the South on the slavery question, which arose concerning the admission of Missouri as a slave state.

44. He brought about by almost superhuman efforts what is known as "The Missouri Compromise," and for these efforts he received general praise as "The great pacificator."

45. After the adjournment of Congress Mr. Clay retired to private life, intending to devote himself to his legal practice.

46. But he was again returned in 1823 and was chosen Speaker by an overwhelming majority.

47. He joined with Webster and others to procure the recognition of the independence of Greece, and delivered a thrilling speech in behalf of that ill-fated country.

48. In 1824 he welcomed Lafayette as Speaker to Washington making an address of remarkable beauty and power.

49. In 1824 Mr. Clay was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. His opponents were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams and William H. Crawford.

50. As none had received a majority of the electoral votes, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives.

51. Mr. Clay stood fourth in the number of electoral votes received and was therefore excluded from the choice.

52. Had he received in addition to the thirty-seven votes given him, eight more which he had a right to expect from New York, he would have been the third candidate and would have gone before the House.

53. In such an event there would not have been the least doubt of the result, for he would have been elected by a large majority to the Presidential chair. On the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay became Secretary of State. The friends of General Jackson denounced him for supporting Mr. Adams in the election by the House of President, and for taking office under him.

54. John Randolph called Mr. Clay's espousal of Mr. Adams, as "the coalition of Puritan with black leg." As he would not recall the odious and unjust comparison, Mr. Clay challenged him to a duel.

55. The meeting took place on the 8th of April 1826. Two shots were exchanged, but to the great joy of all concerned neither was injured. Some years afterwards the two men were reconciled.

56. As Secretary of State Mr. Clay added greatly to his reputation

as a statesman, winning the admiration of all who loved the prosperity of the American people.

57. When General Jackson became President he showed decided hostility to Mr. Clay who had returned to private life. The appointments and removals which he made were all seemingly aimed at Mr. Clay.

58. This compelled the retired statesman to take up office once more, and Mr. Clay was elected to the Senate of the United States by a handsome majority.

59. Mr. Clay, while Senator, in order to carry measures through which he believed to be necessary for the peace of the country had to break with his old political friends.

60. He was told that in doing so he would endanger his chances for the Presidency. He made the immortal reply. "I would rather be right than be President."

61. In 1832 he was nominated by the Whigs for President but was overwhelmingly defeated.

62. In the Autumn of 1836 Mr. Clay was elected President of the Colonization Society.

63. On the 31st of March 1842 he resigned his seat in the Senate, and in 1844 was again the Whig candidate for the Presidency but was defeated.

64. In 1849 Mr. Clay addressed a long letter to the people of Kentucky urging them to provide for the gradual abolition of slavery in that state. The proposition however was rejected.

65. In the same year, 1849, he was elected to the Senate of the United States for the full term of six years.

66. During this session of Congress he addressed the Senate seventy times. He was often so sick and feeble that even with assistance he could scarcely reach his seat.

67. His last efforts for the Compromise Measures which were so near to his heart were crowned with success. He considered their passage the culminating glory of his life.

68. With the love and confidence of the whole country he came to the close of his unique and eventful career.

69. He still continued to hold his seat in the Senate, although his rapidly failing health prevented active participation in its duties.

70. On the 29th of June 1852 at the ripe age of seventy-five years he breathed his last breath at Washington, where he was honored with a public funeral.

71. No one can fully describe the exquisite grace of Mr. Clay's gestures the melodious tones of his matchless voice, "and the interior look of his eyes—as if he were rather spoken *from* than *speaking*."

72. His eloquence was absolutely intangible to delineation. The most labored and thrilling description could not embrace it.

73. During his long public life he enchanted millions and no one could tell how he did it. *He was an orator by nature.*

74. "The clear conception, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object," this was the eloquence of Henry Clay.

75. One who heard a magnificent address of his in the Senate of the United States thus describes him.

76. "Every muscle of the orator's face was at work. His whole body seemed agitated, as if each part was instinct with a separate life; and his small white hand with its blue veins apparently distended almost to bursting, moved gracefully, but with all the energy of rapid and vehement gesture.

77. "The appearance of the speaker seemed that of a fine intellect, wrought up to its mightiest energies, and brightly shining through the thin and transparent veil of flesh that invested it."

78. Towards the close of life he said: "If the days of my usefulness, as I have too much reason to fear, be indeed passed, I desire not to linger an impotent spectator of the oft scanned field of life.

79. "I have never looked upon old age, deprived of the faculty of enjoyment, of intellectual perceptions and energies, with any sympathy. For such I think the day of fate cannot come too soon."

80. The approach of the destroyer had no terrors for him. No clouds overhung his future. He met his end with composure, and his pathway to the grave was lighted by the immortal hopes which spring from the Christian faith.

81. "Mr. Clay's countenance, immediately after death, looked like an antique cast. His features seemed to be perfectly classical; and the repose of all the muscles gave the lifeless body a quiet majesty seldom reached by living human being."

82. The mortal remains of this most versatile and eloquent of American statesman were laid away to rest, not in Washington, but at his last request, in his own family vault, in his beloved Keutucky, by the side of his relations and friends.

PROGRAMME FOR A HENRY CLAY ENTERTAINMENT.

1. Vocal Solo—"A Thousand Years My Own Columbia."
2. Essay—Henry Clay as an American Protectionist.
3. Paper—Henry Clay as an Orator.
4. Instrumental Music.
5. Essay—The Missouri Compromise.
6. Paper—Henry Clay as Candidate Several Times for the Presidency.
7. Vocal Music—"The Sword of Bunker Hill."

8. Anecdotes of Henry Clay.

9. Essay or Address—Henry Clay's Relations to Presidents Madison, Monroe and John Quincy Adams.

10. Music—Instrumental.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW.

What two general principles help to determine a man's character? Point out some illustration in your own history. How much do we know about Clay's early years? Why do we have so little information? Have we other great men whose early years are little known? What was his father's work? How did Clay aid his mother? How many brothers and sisters had Clay? Do you know any boys no more favorably situated than he?

Trace Clay's business changes. Did he have a good education? Did he have a fair chance to get a good amount of knowledge? Who were his teachers? What distinguished men did he meet when a boy? How did he get much of his education? What are the comparative advantages of a college education and a practical one? How did Mr. Wythe influence Clay's life? With whom did he study law? Could he have known much law when admitted to the bar?

Why did Clay go to Kentucky? What kind of a people in Kentucky at the time? Why was Clay so successful? When did he begin to show power as a public speaker? When was Clay married? Give an account of Clay's children. Make an analysis of the points in Clay's early life.

Was Clay a successful lawyer? What were his leading characteristics? Why did he prosecute so few cases? In what kinds of law did he succeed best? Name some of the famous cases he engaged in. Was there any field in which Clay was greater than as a lawyer? Which is more important to a nation, great statesmen, or great lawyers?

When did Clay begin his public career? What party did he belong to in his early years? Make out a list of the great measures he advocated in the State Legislature and in Congress. On what subject did he change his position? What subjects early engaged his attention? What did Clay mean by his "American system?" How far did he wish to press manufacturing? Was he entirely consistent in his views on the tariff? What was his first speech that has come down to us? What were the arguments in his first really great speech?

What place did Clay hold in the House? What honor did he receive there that no other man has ever had? Was Clay afraid to express his opinions?

Who was the leader in bringing on the war of 1812? What were the principle arguments used? How did parties stand in regard to the war? What measures did Clay wish used in the war? How did Clay feel toward merely military men aspiring to civil positions? Who were the peace commissioners in 1814? Were they harmonious?

What the chief point in dispute? What effect did the war have on Clay? On the American people?

How did Clay feel toward the South American Republics? What did he wish done? How did he succeed in his plans? What did Clay believe in regard to Greece? Could Clay be sarcastic in speech? Give illustration. Would Clay's arguments be applicable to any conditions now existing?

How did Clay treat Monroe's administration? When did he first become a candidate for President? Was he a good political prophet? Why did Clay dislike Jackson so much? What the reasons for Jackson's hatred of Clay? What is meant by the cry of "bargain and corruption?" Why could not Clay be a candidate before the House of Representatives in 1825? Who was elected? Did the election give satisfaction? When did the campaign of 1828 begin? What was the principal issue? How do you explain the ill-will of Jackson and Clay? Did Clay, as Secretary of State, do what he wished? Why not?

When did new parties begin to form? Into which did Clay go? What became their names by 1834? Why was Clay never elected President? Name the years in which he was a candidate.

What was Clay's political strength? What his weakness? What plans had he to restore prosperity after the crisis of 1837? What questions arose in regard to the public lands? How would Clay treat them? Was he right? What did he propose to do with the income from the sale of public lands? Was he favorable to Nullification? How did he and Calhoun then come to act together on the tariff? For what political end above all others did Clay stand? Give an account of Jackson and Clay in their struggle over the National Bank. What plan had the Democrats to replace the National Bank as a means to manage the Government Revenues? What did Clay predict in regard to it? Has his prediction been fulfilled?

How did Clay feel on the slavery question? Why was he not consistent in argument on the question? How did the question affect his presidential prospects? What did he wish to have done with the Negroes? Name the great compromises he was author of in the main. Draw conclusions in regard to his political influence on American history.

What was the personal appearance of Clay? Was he ready? Give anecdote to illustrate. What qualities in his character do you like? What dislike? Was he brave? Give example. Could he have done anything which would have been braver?

What can you say in regard to his style of oratory? What did the Federalists think of Clay? Did Clay believe in rules in Congress? Any exceptions? Was Clay sensitive to criticism? Proofs. How was Clay liked by his neighbors? Was Clay a good conversationalist? Give illustration. Was he quick in repartee? Could he quote the words of other men readily in his speeches? Illustrate. On the whole do you like Clay or not? If not, why not? If yes, why so?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Clay's consistency in regard to the tariff.*
2. *Reasons for Clay's positions in regard to slavery.*
3. *Did Clay do wrong in accepting, under the circumstances, the position of Secretary of State under Adams?*
4. *Is there any good proof of corruption in his political life?*
5. *His personal morals.*
6. *Were his compromises for the best interest of the Union?*
7. *His work as Peace Commissioner in 1814.*
8. *His relations to Calhoun.*
9. *His relations to Webster.*
10. *Why he never became president?*

CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF HENRY CLAY.

1777. Born in Hanover County, Virginia, April 12.
1781. His father dies.
1791. Clerk in store of Richard Denny.
1792. Enters Virginia High Court of Chancery as clerk. His mother marries again and moves to Kentucky. Becomes amanuensis to Chancellor Wythe at Richmond.
1796. Begins the study of law in earnest.
1797. Admitted to the bar in Richmond and leaves for Kentucky.
1799. Married Miss Lucretia Hart.
1803. Elected to the legislature of Kentucky.
1806. Sent to the United States Senate for a year to fill a vacancy. Not yet thirty.
1807. Again elected to the Kentucky legislature. Elected speaker.
1809. His first duel. Both Clay and his opponent, Humphrey Marshall, slightly wounded. Elected to the United States Senate to fill a two years' vacancy.
1811. First election to the House of Representatives; the first day of his first term elected speaker.
1814. Resigns the speakership to go as Peace Commissioner to Europe, with Gallatin, J. Q. Adams, Russell and Bayard.
1815. Elected again to Congress, and chosen speaker for the third time by a large majority. He was re-elected speaker in 1817, 1819 and 1823.
1820. A supporter of the Missouri Compromise.
1821. The author of the compromise under which Missouri finally became a State in the Union.
1822. Nominated for the Presidency by the legislatures of Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri and Ohio.
1824. Defeated for the Presidency. Famous tariff debate with Webster.
1825. Secretary of State under J. Q. Adams. The cry of "bargain and corruption" raised.

1826. His second duel. Neither he nor John Randolph wounded. Shook hands after the affair was over.
1829. Returns to Kentucky and to his farm.
1831. Elected Senator again. December 12, he was nominated as the National Republican candidate for President.
1832. Jackson defeats him for the Presidency. The Nullification controversy begins. He struggles for the National Bank against Jackson.
1833. Proposes and carries through the famous compromise tariff of that year.
1834. Gives a name to the new party—Whig. Attempts to attach the name Tory to the Jackson party. Fails.
1831-'37. A member of the great "triumvirate"—Webster, Clay and Calhoun.
1839. Defeated for the Whig nomination by Harrison. Very sore for a time.
1841-'42. Opposes the Tyler administration.
1842. Resigns the Senatorship; one of his greatest and most dramatic speeches, on leaving the Senate.
1849. Returns to the Senate.
1850. Author and most powerful supporter of the "Compromise of of 1850."
1852. Died June 29.

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